



From the Chair

By Dave Walter

Andre Marrou put the party's task this way at the national convention: "Grow or Die." After 18 years of existence, those are the only choices. Staying stable at current levels will ensure the party never has more than a minor impact on the nation's political scene. Growth, however, holds out hope that the LP can have significant influence in turning the country toward individual liberty.

We must ask two questions: Is growth possible? If possible, how is it to be achieved?

There are uncounted thousands out there who will respond to libertarian ideas but haven't yet. The C-SPAN coverage of our convention produced about 1300 telephone inquiries. Hundreds more probably will write. Thousands who supported Ron Paul haven't joined the party yet. Millions have voted the LP candidates at least once. Some of them undoubtedly are interested in joining the LP.

Political scientists have said that approximately 20 percent of the electorate shares broad libertarian views. Clearly, growth is possible.

Strategies for achieving the growth are numberless. Let's start with a two year time frame and say we will double the party's membership by September, 1991. Doubling to 14,000 members would give our 1992 presidential candidate 150 percent more members than Ron Paul had when he was nominated, providing a much stronger base for petitioning and fund raising.

More importantly, perhaps, it could produce more visible and productive local campaigns, which could be the source of sustainable growth in the 1990s.

Doubling membership means that, on average, each member has to bring in only one new member during the next two years.

The National Party will support this effort in many ways: prompt response to inquiries; attractive literature; outreach mailings to kindred souls; membership contests and incentives; follow-up to non-renewers; media work, and issues projects to increase awareness of the LP; better membership service such as, possibly, a monthly LP NEWS.

You, the current members, have responsibilities too if "Each One, Reach One" is to succeed. First, you must talk to friends who've expressed interest in the Libertarian Party and get them to sign up. You should stock a supply of "instant membership" applications (available from the national office). Most importantly, your local LP group should participate in inquiry-producing activities in your own community and run candidates for office who will make a serious effort to get out and talk to people and not just be running to hold a line on the ballot. When you get an inquiry, follow up with literature and a phone call. Maintain an active club so those joining feel useful and don't drop out after a year.

Karen Allard is the National Committee's new membership chair. She'll help. But *each of you will have to do it. Grow? Or Die?*

Unity, Purpose, Practicality— A Breakthrough Convention

By Karl Hess

It was a breakthrough convention.

•A change in party strategy that has been underway as an undercurrent for several years was firmed up, even if not formalized. The new emphasis is on party building through local political activism with broad appeals rather than restricting outreach to "perfect" libertarian positions.

•The entire convention was given gavel-to-gavel national television coverage by the C-SPAN television network; the most concentrated coverage any party event ever has received.

•The bitter factional fights that have marked, and marred, other conventions were almost, even if not completely, absent.

•The National Committee that emerged from the convention seemed united, determined to be active, and committed to the notion that the national party must serve mainly as a service organization to the real heart and mind of the party: the affiliate parties in the states, regions, counties, towns, and cities.

•Two of the libertarian movement's most respected groups, the Society for Individual Liberty and the Libertarian International, took the occasion of the convention to announce their merger. It seemed a proper symbol for a spirit of cooperation that is growing in the movement.

The Libertarian Party's 1989 national convention in Philadelphia got underway publicly with a discussion of the relationship of the Constitution to the Declaration of Independence by Jim Lewis, former vice presidential candidate who was just recently released from a federal prison where he had been confined for resisting the income tax.

The spirit and intent of the Declaration, he insisted, must be considered when looking at the Constitution. If so, such matters as ballot access laws would be seen, simply and clearly, as unconstitutional.

He also emphasized the importance of jury nullification in keeping the spirit of the Declaration and protecting the balance of the Constitution. Juries, he said, absolutely have the right to overturn laws in the trials they adjudicate.

Next, on the keynote panel discussing the immediate future of the party, David Bergland, outgoing vice chair of the national party and a past presidential candidate, set a tone for practical party building by saying that the people the party can expect to join "don't have to be perfect [in agreement with every libertarian position]. They just have to join on the basis of whatever partial agreement they feel." It was, indeed, a keynote theme that was repeated often throughout the convention.

David Nolan, widely regarded as the founder of the Libertarian Party, took the most radical of the new priorities positions, suggesting that, of the basics of practical politics (networking, media, candidacies, and 50-state ballot access), he would give the 50-state plan the lowest priority. Networking among party affiliates and activists and media attention were assigned the top priorities in his presentation. Strong local candidacies, he pointed out, must depend upon those grass-

roots strengths, whereas a presidential campaign run in 40 or so states would have the educational value of one run in every state if there is a growing party to exploit it.

Nolan also sounded a theme that recurred throughout the convention: that the Libertarian Party must address issues of immediate concern to American voters, and on their terms, proposing incremental solutions and changes rather than insisting on all-or-nothing "abolish the state" libertarian positions.

In Nolan's view, the major issue is taxation and, although libertarians understand that "taxation is theft," they should understand that most Americans want relief, first, rather than immediate abolition.

The second issue he cited is the "insane, hideous" war on drugs. The Drug Enforcement Administration, he charged, "has become our KGB."

Gun ownership and the limitation of political terms of office are also important and appealing political issues.

And the media, particularly television, is the way to bring the Libertarian Party, those issues, and the public together, Nolan said. His own project along those lines is the formation of a group, LiberTV, to raise funds for and produce libertarian TV ads.

Larry Dodge, whose highly publicized campaigns in Montana have been spreading the libertarian message for years, urged that the party not continue to emphasize the presidential campaign to the extent that it has in the past but to focus on practical ways to implement platform positions, such as lobbying for them, developing liberty-strengthening electoral initiatives, and forming PACs to back freedom-directed legislation.

(Later, in his presentation supporting his campaign for national LP chair, Robert Murphy,



At the national convention in Philadelphia, Dave Walter was elected national chair on the first ballot.

an at-large member of the National Committee, said that we must run a respectable presidential campaign because "people expect it of a political party and we won't be taken seriously unless we do." Ed Crane, former LP presidential candidate, in a separate speech to the convention, added his support for a strong presidential campaign, saying that "it's the most cost-effective way to reach people.")

Dodge joined Jim Lewis in stressing the importance of jury nullification in a society moving toward liberty. Dodge, putting his actions where his words are, is now actively lobbying for a "fully informed jury" amendment to the Montana constitution. It would end the current practice of refusing to let juries be informed of their power to nullify laws and would, instead, insist that all jurors be told of their duty to judge the law as well as the facts and to make their agreement to that responsibility a condition of serving.

Dave Walter, who was later re-elected as national chair of the Libertarian Party, told the keynote panel and audience that "the battle for liberty will not be won at national headquarters. It will be won in the towns and cities." Promising, as he has before, to "denationalize" the party, Walter suggested that local issues such as zoning and schools should be primary libertarian targets.

In every panel and meeting of the convention, it was noticeable that the strongest applause and favorable reaction came when speakers spoke of

continued on page 6

Convention Awards

Ron Paul, the Libertarian Party's most recent candidate for President of the United States, was praised throughout the party's national convention for his vigorous campaign and for his pledge to remain an active supporter of the party and an active participant in the libertarian movement. A formal recognition of his work capped off the convention when, during the final banquet, Dr. Paul was given the Phoenix Award of the Society for Individual Liberty for his long service to the cause of freedom.

The Robert E. Lehman Award, named after the late widely respected and beloved Libertarian Party activist, was presented to the state affiliate parties, one large, one small, which showed the largest membership growth.

The large state honored for its growth was Pennsylvania with 67 percent. The small state honored was Utah, with 226 percent. In accepting the award for Utah, state chair Robert Waldrop, coatless and wearing a multi-colored wool cap, drew what some observers felt was the largest single ovation of the entire convention.

Tilting Toward
Freedom
Page 3

Proclaim Liberty
Convention
Pages 6-8

Campus Libertarian Offers Plan to Spread the Word

By Jim Fuller

This article is for the "Lone Libertarian" on campus. You feel like you're the only one who knows the truth. Your profs keep screaming about Injustice, Oppression, Poverty, Drugs, etc. You know the solutions to those problems—liberty. How can you spread your ideas? There is no easy way, no fail-proof plan, but maybe this will help.

Miami University is located at Oxford, Ohio, in rural Butler County, about 30 miles north of Cincinnati. There are 15,000 students, most from middle and upper middle class homes.

Miami is called "public Ivy" and is known for its academic standards being high and selective. The campus is beautiful, with red brick buildings and tree-lined sidewalks. Oxford is a small college town with the population doubling every August when the students return. This area of Ohio is staunchly conservative

but, recently, many are finding that they are not conservative after all but are latent libertarians. The dynamic success of the local libertarian movement is a whole other story, but as I am from nearby Hamilton, my work on campus often overlaps with the local off-campus activities.

The Miami University Libertarians student group was founded in the Fall Semester, 1988, by Jim Sopp and Dan Quinn. They were mainly concerned with supporting the presidential campaign of Ron Paul. To do it they had to set up a legal campus organization. I am a political science major and have always wanted to be a political activist but I didn't begin to look for libertarian groups until summer of 1988. I found the Libertarian Party and Libertarians for Greater Cincinnati, and decided to start a student group on campus. Thanks to Jim and Dan, the paperwork was already done.

They had, however, let the group go into limbo after the election but were willing to let me take it over. And that's what I did.

We held a meeting to discuss drinking age and drug laws, topics of general interest on campus. As meetings go, it was a disappointment. Only 10 people showed up. Half of them were libertarians already. At that point I decided it was time to lay some groundwork for the upcoming year.

I set goals for myself: converting at least five people to libertarianism, building a list of contacts, and generally getting word out on campus. In order to do this, I wrote and printed several position papers and started passing them out to people I knew.

This worked well. The papers generated discussions and led to new papers answering questions that arose and further explaining our ideas. Finally, I put together a "newspaper"—the Student Libertarian—to serve as an outreach publication.

Before long, I was ready to start contacting people who weren't my friends or associates but I was paranoid about having to stand on street corners passing out literature. I didn't want to look like the "Lone Libertarian Freak."

After some experimenting and lots of brainstorming, I developed what I call the individual approach. I simply approach one person in each class during each class meeting. I hand them a paper and ask that they look it over and let me know what they think about it.

It worked!

At first I tried it out on those who were sitting nearby in class. More often than not I had already spoken to them about something so it was easy. As I passed out more papers, other students would be watching and some would ask me for literature or at least ask what I was passing out.

As I got used to doing it, it got easier and easier.

Other class members were actually expecting me when I finally approached them. From all of this I got a lot of feedback and dozens of interested contacts.

I have tried other approaches as well. Our school paper, The Student, has been very cooperative and has printed every letter-to-the-editor that I've written. These reached thousands of other students and brought more contacts and comments.

We plan to use the student paper extensively this fall. For one thing, it brings out the opposition, which gives an opportunity to make the Young Socialists, Democratic Socialists, and Bleeding-Hearts in general look fools.

Perhaps the best way to raise a stir on campus is through the classrooms. I approach my professors with literature, then arrange a meeting to discuss it.

Political science profs like to argue politics, of course, but so do many botany, history, religion, English, and sociology instructors.

I have had tremendous success in this part of my approach.

My American Foreign Policy prof was a die-hard socialist, but welcomed the literature, since he had never heard of libertarianism.

Sometime later he attacked libertarian economics in class by saying that "Libertarians are always yelling Free Market, Free Market, but look what deregulation did to the S & Ls." He liked to discuss news items at the beginning of class and he was particularly ticked off at the savings and loan bailout.

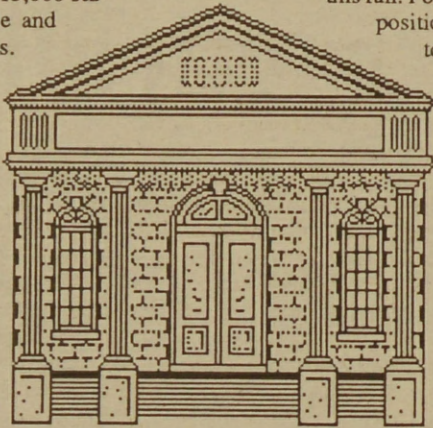
He also went on and on about the success of Japanese Socialism "which allows free enterprise but is government controlled." I let him rant and rave. I didn't want to argue in class for fear of being cut off or badly misunderstood.

I went home and wrote a letter of response to the class, explaining the libertarian view, like letting the savings and loan investors take responsibility for their stupid mistakes—and *not* bailing them out. I also pointed out that if the U.S. did not provide Japan's defense the government there would not be able to afford the massive subsidies and low-cost production of their socialism. I attached a copy of the Student Libertarian, ran off 60 copies and took them to the prof. He read the material, we discussed it, and he agreed to let it be distributed in class.

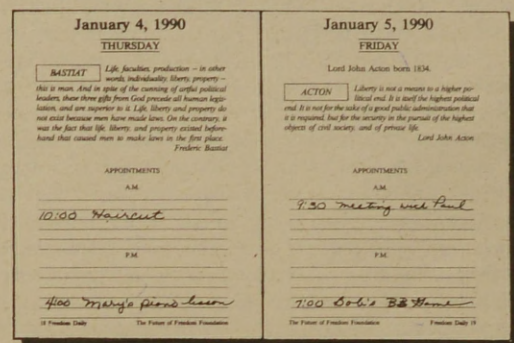
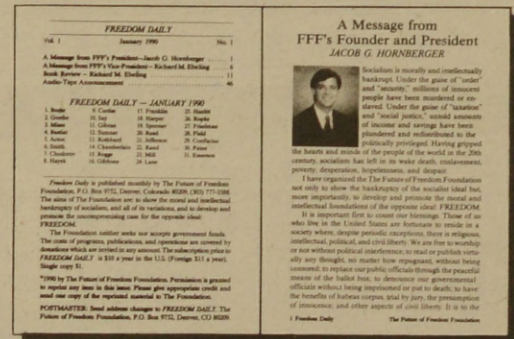
When the class began, the professor began by saying "About these things that Mr. Fuller is giving you: I have to agree with most of it. Libertarians make sense. We need to make everyone pay for their mistakes. I think his idea for not bailing out the savings and loans may make people learn their lesson. I agree it's time to stop subsidizing everything. Let Japan and Germany pay for their own defense. Maybe Fuller's right; their economic systems may fall apart if they pay their own way. Libertarians make a whole lot of sense."

I almost fell out of my chair. This was the socialist who had ranted and raved all semester about how the whole system stank and that there were no solutions to the problems. It also happened to be the last day of class. He was retiring.

continued on page 11



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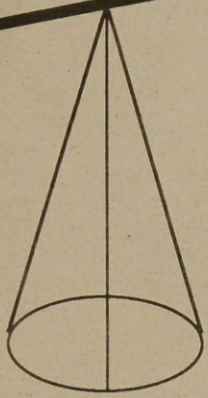
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Tilting Toward Freedom



The following article, reprinted with permission, appeared in the Washington Post's Sunday Outlook section. It represents, in the view of the editors, the most significant piece of libertarian outreach to appear in the past several years. It gives substance and credibility to classical liberalism, to libertarianism, and concisely explains a vital range of modern American political positions without being trapped into the familiar simple-minded left-right categorization. And it did it all before a widespread, influential audience! Virginia Postrel is editor of Reason magazine. Her story appeared in the Post under the headline: How Our High Court Came to Be Libertarian. Local libertarian groups may find it an excellent 'door opener' for people who have just begun to wonder about libertarianism. It is calm, non-dogmatic, non-preachy, and gives libertarianism a mainstream respectability that it badly needs and richly deserves.

By Virginia I. Postrel

As the nation approaches its 213th birthday, Ronald Reagan's Supreme Court is in full swing. Modern-day liberals may wring their hands, modern-day conservatives may take to the streets in outrage, congressmen may stage marathon talk-ins. But for classical lovers of individual liberty, it's close to a banner Fourth.

Today's liberals are chagrined by the court's restrictions on affirmative action. Conservatives, for their part, are totally dismayed by the court's finding that the Bill of Rights protects even those who burn the American flag or operate "indecent" dial-a-porn services. How could the same court rule so strongly for civil liberties and against civil rights, as conventionally conceived? Did Reagan simply bequeath the country a bunch of idiosyncratic justices?

In fact, the court's decisions should not be surprising. We can expect more such juxtapositions in the future. The key to the apparent paradox lies in understanding the tensions within American conservatism.

The conservative intellectual tradition in America divides, not too neatly, into two strains. The first shares with conservatism world-wide the central values of order and authority and looks to the state to maintain and enforce those values. It holds in high regard tradition and morality, publicly enforced as well as privately practiced.

The other strain is conservative only in the American context, for what it seeks is the classical liberalism that inspired the country's founders. This tradition emphasizes limited government and individual liberty—personal, economic and political.

Both liberals and social conservatives have found it convenient in recent years to ignore this second tradition, tending instead to equate conservatism with the agenda of the Religious Right. For liberal action groups, telling people that Reagan-appointed judges would invade their bedrooms and impose censorship raised a good deal more money than suggesting that they might allow more corporate mergers or weaken zoning laws. Social conservatives, for their part, needed to claim credit for Reagan's election triumphs in order to demand, as compensation, that their agenda be given attention.

More thoughtful members of the Reagan coalition understood, however, that their ranks encompassed a strong libertarian component.

"Why did Scalia do it?" columnist Pat Buchanan was asked after the flag-burning decision was handed down. The socially conservative columnist and former Reagan aide, appearing on NBC's "McLaughlin Group," had no hesitation in explaining why Justice Antonin Scalia, a presumably "conservative" Reagan appointee, joined with the majority.

"He's a libertarian," Buchanan replied, disapprovingly. The ruling may have surprised those who equate conservatives with Buchanan, but it did not surprise Buchanan himself.

Nor was Reagan's solicitor general, Charles Fried, taken aback. Asked about the ruling on CBS's "Face the Nation," he launched into a passionate defense of it. "I think it's a wonderful decision. When I think of what's happening in Red China and what happened in Iran, I'm glad we've got no doctrine of civil blasphemy which can be a crime in this country.... And if you're inclined to think, as President Reagan was, that the government is sometimes the enemy, you understand why you might want to be protected from it."

Pure unadulterated libertarianism. Of course, most American conservatives, including both Fried and the court's conservative faction, represent some amalgam of the two strains in conservative thinking. Broadly speaking, however, we can categorize Reagan's court appointees as follows: Scalia and Anthony M. Kennedy are libertarian conservatives; Sandra Day O'Connor and William H. Rehnquist are state-power conservatives.

The four justices vote together on many matters. For example, they agree on most affirmative action and death penalty cases. Although libertarians value procedural safeguards to protect the innocent, they also hold individuals responsible for their actions and so may accept harsh punishments for the guilty.

On affirmative action, libertarians are discomfited by the emphasis on group rather than individual rights. They also dislike government impairment of private parties' ability to freely contract with whomever they wish. (Under some circumstances the latter principle could favor affirmative action, say, in the case of a union contract that considers race as well as seniority in promotion.)

State-power conservatives tend to emphasize legislative history—the denial, for example, by framers of the 1965 Civil Rights Act that they intend quotas to arise from it. State-power conservatives are, if anything, somewhat more willing than libertarians to uphold affirmative action as a legitimate use of state power to advance social goals. O'Connor, herself both a victim of and now the beneficiary of affirmative action, has sometimes cast her swing vote to uphold activist civil rights remedies.

Nor do these particular justices adhere consistently to one school or the other. When the court upheld the blanket drug testing of Customs Service employees, Scalia wrote a stinging dissent. With no evidence of a problem among customs workers, the government's only reasons for requiring such invasive tests, he concluded, was to set an example of anti-drug vigilance. "[T]he impairment of individual liberties," wrote Scalia, "cannot be the means of making a point...." In

other cases, however, Scalia agreed with the majority that drug testing is legal, even when there is no reason to suspect a particular person of using drugs. Under some circumstances, Scalia errs on the side of state power rather than civil liberties.

The Webster abortion decision [expected as the article was published] will undoubtedly provide significant insight into the role libertarian ideas play in Scalia and Kennedy's conservatism. The court is obviously deeply divided on this issue, having delayed its ruling past the presumed last day of the term, and we are likely to see numerous judges expressing their individual views in separate opinions. A ruling that rolled back privacy rights altogether would be unequivocally anti-libertarian. By contrast, a broad decision to uphold *Roe v. Wade* would indicate a strong antipathy either to overturning precedent or to encroaching on individual choice. Scalia, having grilled lawyers in the case on the issue of whether there are two or only one constitutionally protected persons involved in an abortion, could wind up having it both ways: incorporating language upholding individual liberty in a ruling that would restrict access to abortions [which is roughly what happened in the court's refusal to overturn *Roe v. Wade* but to hand application of it, particularly in regard to tax-paid abortions, back to the states].

When the conservative justices do split along libertarian/state-power lines, their differences are significant. Generally speaking, a state-power conservative will be far more satisfactory to social conservatives than a more libertarian judge. Rehnquist and O'Connor, of course, dissented from the flag-burning decision. Both tend to defer to the will of the legislature even when it conflicts with individual rights. These differences affect economic, as well as civil-liberties decisions.

Indeed, the cases that first marked Scalia as a powerful force for libertarian views concerned not just civil liberties but property rights. A few years before Scalia was appointed, the Supreme Court, in the view of libertarians, all but wrote property rights out of the Constitution in allowing the state of Hawaii to use its power of eminent domain to confiscate private lands so that its tenants could buy it. Libertarians despaired. Four years later, the court reversed the tide with two landmark rulings requiring states to pay compensation to property owners affected by some land-use restrictions—a strong disincentive to regulation. Scalia, who wrote the opinion in one of these cases, was widely credited with creating the impetus for that change.

In this context, we can see that when Reagan tapped Scalia to fill the vacancy left by Warren Burger, he did not simply replace one conservative judge with another. Rather, he exchanged a state-power conservative justice for a libertarian one. The further addition of Kennedy, perceived as a "moderate," reinforced the libertarian trend.

Some conservatives, of course, do want the government in the bedroom. And some conservative judges would permit such intrusions. It was the specter of such permission that helped undo Robert A. Bork. A leading intellectual proponent of state-power conservatism, Bork adamantly refuses to recognize any constitutional right to privacy or, indeed, any inalienable natural rights—as distinct from those granted through the government. Last week, he denounced both the flag-burning and dial-a-porn decisions.

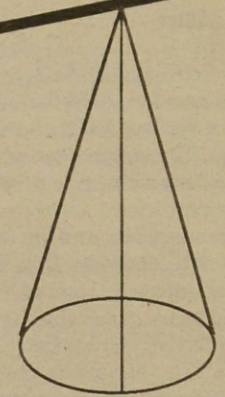
Despite their generally unprincipled nature, however, the hearings on the Bork nomination did establish an ideological standard: The Senate, we can safely say, will not accept a pure state-power conservative for the Supreme Court. Once Bork proved unacceptable, Reagan turned to more libertarian nominees.

The same tactic might work for Bush, should he get the chance to nominate a Supreme Court justice. He will, however, face a dilemma. If he picks someone with libertarian inclinations, he will risk the wrath of social conservatives. But liberal senators will be equally determined to uphold the bare majority that now upholds civil liberties. A moderate conservative—a judicial cipher—might win confirmation. Such justices are notoriously unpredictable, however. More of O'Connor's convoluted affirmative-action opinions are not what most conservatives want out of that court. In the end, Bush may find his political interests best served by emulating Reagan and seeking out judges whose somewhat libertarian views make them tolerable to liberals and whose emphasis on judicial restraint makes them acceptable to conservatives.

Libertarians, in fact, are no more monolithic than liberals or conservatives. Within the classical liberal tradition, the rule of law stands as a primary political value. Judges obviously play a major role in maintaining that rule. But exactly how they should do so is a matter of great debate among more or less like-minded scholars.

The dividing question boils down to this: After 50 years in which the courts have refused to enforce constitutional protections of property rights and economic liberties, how activist should judges be in restoring those protections? Should they overturn established precedents?

Both Kennedy and Scalia tend toward restraint. Scalia, who has written eloquently on the false dichotomy between economic freedoms and civil rights, has also—unlike other libertarian scholars—argued vehemently against an activist defense of the rights of private property and contract. The courts, he argues, have already overly expanded their powers. We have no reason to believe that judges would act sensibly or on behalf of individual liberties should they "constitutionalize" economic rights. And, he notes, economic liberties do not enjoy the public support necessary to preserve allegiance to them as consti-



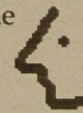
About the Author

Reason, the most widely read of all libertarian periodicals, has a new editor: Virginia I. Postrel.

At 29, Postrel begins her work as editor of *Reason* at about the same age as William F. Buckley, Jr., when he started the conservative *National Review*, Michael Kinsley, when he took over at *Harper's*, and Norman Podhoretz, at *Commentary*. Postrel is the only woman editing a national magazine such as *Reason*.

Postrel has seven years of professional journalism experience, coming to *Reason* in 1986 from *Inc.* magazine where she was a staff reporter for two years. Before that, she was a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*. A magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Princeton University with a degree in English Literature, Postrel has been an assistant editor and then associate editor at *Reason*.

Libertarian Profile



New International Society for Individual Liberty Formed

By Vince Miller

A new International Society for Individual Liberty has been formed by the merger of the Libertarian International and the Society for Individual Liberty. The merger was announced at the Libertarian Party national convention in Philadelphia.

The new organization retains on its board of directors the SIL stalwarts Don Ernsberger and Dave Walter and the LI team of Vince Miller and former Virginia state LP chair Jim Elwood. The board also includes Bruce Evoy, founder of the Libertarian Party of Canada and well-known to American libertarians for his stirring performances as Patrick Henry, and Hubert Jongen of Holland, a major figure in the European libertarian movement.

In the past, SIL has maintained somewhat of a symbiotic relationship with the Libertarian Party, remaining separate but providing an extensive body of educational and support literature. Now, with a more efficient division of labor and the publishing tools of the LI, the support capabilities of the merged organization have been greatly enhanced and its networking and support activities extend worldwide.

Jarrett Wollstein, another founder of the original SIL, has agreed to become active in the merged organization as Educational Literature Development Coordinator and is already working on up-dating the original SIL series of issue papers and on developing a whole new body of

quality papers on today's hot issues. The first one will be on the drug war hysteria in America. (Wollstein himself is the author of SIL papers that have been circulated to more than a million people, making him one of the movement's true best-selling authors.)

As they are produced, copies of the new literature will be sent to Libertarian Party state chairs and newsletter editors.

Libertarians are, of course, aware of the incredible wave of change that is sweeping the world today. They should be as interested to know just how much influence libertarians are having in other countries around the world. Members of the new ISIL will be kept informed about these activities in the "Freedom Network News," bi-monthly newsletter, which will also incorporate SIL's well-known publication "Individual Liberty."

ISIL members also have the golden opportunity to sponsor budding libertarians in authoritarian and Third World countries—and to correspond with them via the free Pen Pal ads in the Freedom Network News.

ISIL's network of World Representatives and board members includes such people as Alain Dumait, vice mayor of Paris; Enrique Gheri, a close associate of Mario Vargas Llosa, the libertarian front-runner for the presidency of Peru; Dr. Martin Krause, director of the Instituto de la Economia Social de Mercado, a free-market think-tank in Argentina.

We also maintain close contact with Alvaro Alsogaray, leader of a very libertarian-leaning

political party in Argentina, the Democratic Centre Party.

Our "rep" in Pakistan is the great, great grandson of the former king of Afghanistan. Our World Representative for Canada is Dennis Corrigan, leader of the Canadian Libertarian Party. We also count among our staunchest supporters two of the world's most famous libertarians, Leon Louw and Frances Kendall, both of whom have been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize for their work in bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. Kendall is a member of the ISIL Advisory Board. Louw, along with Leonard Liggio of the Institute for Humane Studies, Robert Poole, Jr., of Reason magazine, James Johnston of the Heartland Institute, and Ken Schooland, professor of Asian studies at Chaminade University, Honolulu, and a former economics advisor at the White House, are members of ISIL's new Board of Freedom Consultants.

And, at last, for those who have been asking when will there be an international conference in America, ISIL is holding its next world conference in San Francisco, August 10-14, 1990, at the Golden Gate Holiday Inn. The conference will be co-hosted by the Future of Freedom Conference and will have two major themes, world environmentalism and the future of freedom in the 1990s.

Speakers who have confirmed so far are from Hong Kong, India, Peru, Argentina, Nigeria, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, South Africa and Canada. For "early bird" reservations, the cost, including convention presentations, first

class, shared double hotel accommodations, and a closing banquet is \$365.

Basic memberships in the new ISIL are \$20 (sustaining \$35). If you want to receive a complimentary newsletter and information package, send your name and address to International Society for Individual Liberty, 9308 Farmington Drive, Richmond, VA 23229.

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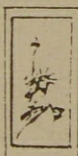
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Council of State Chairs Filling a Needed Role

By Dan Karlan

The Council of State Chairs (CSC) does not have any official status. That is not a weakness—it might instead be a strength. It exists not because rules require it but, rather, because the people involved perceive the need for what it does, and proceed to fill that need. Deserving of special recognition among these people—even more because she is *not* a state chair—is Alicia Clark. She formed the CSC in 1981, and has maintained it solely out of the belief that the CSC serves a fundamental need that would otherwise not be met.

Foremost among the needs of the state chairs is information. I believe there are two simple ways each of us can learn: from our mistakes, and from others' mistakes. Clearly, the latter way is much cheaper. The sharing of lessons learned by each of us can considerably reduce the cost in time, money, and drive. The CSC serves as a forum wherein the experiences of one state organization can be offered to others, as cross-fertilization.

Near the top of the list of State Chairs' needs are those things that every state organization needs but that any one state cannot afford to underwrite. This includes literature and training. In both of these, the states must defer to the size, experience, and networking facilities of the national organization. The CSC serves the role of providing the state chairs a place where we can

establish priorities among these needs from National.

Just drawing up this "laundry list" would be a sterile exercise if there were not a channel from the CSC to NatCom. The Affiliate Party Committee ("APC") is that channel, and the APC chair, Mary Gingell, demonstrated her belief in the importance of the CSC during the meeting. She was discussing the feedback from the state chair to her survey identifying progress and opportunities in the state parties, when a call came for her requesting her presence at the NatCom meeting. She continued with her presentation, saying "NatCom can wait—this is more important."

Discussions in the past between CSC and APC have led to the creation of the Expert Talent Bank. Last year, regional training seminars were conducted for the state chairs on party activities and

on campaigns. In the works now is a project of the APC with George O'Brien involving Management Training for LP Activists. The state chairs are encouraged to identify local activists (not necessarily including or excluding the state chairs) who would benefit from this program, and also to assist in fine-tuning the program.

Also important among the needs of the state chairs is information on what a new state chair needs and what tools are already available. A new state chair packet plus effective communications with the APC, clearly smoothes the transition and hook-up time for a new chair to get up to speed, and reduces the problems involved with potentially abrupt and even contentious changes in local party makeup.

The existence of the CSC assists in the transition. Clark and Gingell have been very helpful in

answering questions that new state chairs have about NatCom, the LP, the CSC, or existing local activities. Their dedication and enthusiasm have been acknowledged within the CSC.

It is time the rest of the membership learned of their commitment, and how much it does to improve the operations of the LP affiliate state parties.

Karlan is state chair of the LP of New Jersey.

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To whet your appetite, *Reflections* serves up the provocative opinions of *Liberty's* editors. A few selections from the menu for September:

Karl Hess on vigilante justice;
Murray Rothbard on Eleanor Roosevelt's feet;
Bill Moulton on George Will's strange hatred of liberty;
Rex May on the assault on English.

Entrées

The main course consists of a variety of controversial and thoughtful essays. A few entrées from our current offering:

Ralph Raico argues that historians should remove their political blindfolds and re-examine the state terrorism of Hitler, Stalin and FDR;

Murray Rothbard recalls his expulsion from Ayn Rand's Circle;

David Friedman explores the paradoxes of libertarian theory, and offers a way out;

R. W. Bradford considers the bizarre libertarian theories about the abortion problem and proposes a solution;

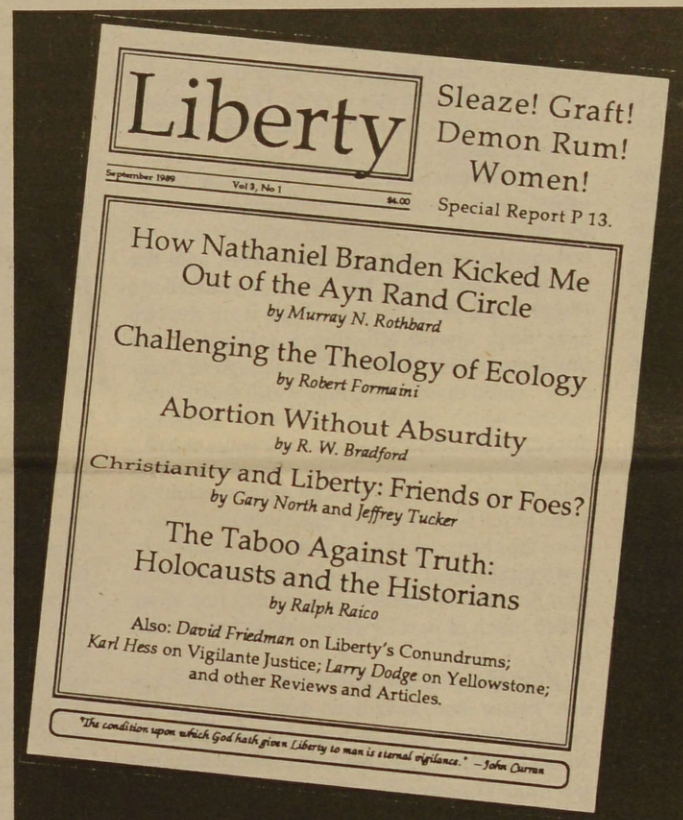
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Richard Kostelanetz recommends avant garde art to the political avant garde.

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Timothy Virkkala on the truths and the errors of Hayek;

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Lawrence Dodge on the prescriptions for the recovery of Yellowstone;

And reviews of other books, films, video, television and comics.

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Publisher

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✓ **An Interview with Barbara Branden**—in her first interview in more than two years, Barbara Branden talks frankly about life inside the Rand circle and ex-husband Nathaniel Branden's steamy memoir;

✓ **In Defense of Elitism**—Karl Hess argues that Elitism is one of the best things about America;

✓ **The College Teaching Scam**—Richard Kostelanetz urges a revolt against the intellectual

Brahmins who swill at the higher education trough;

✓ **Ayn Rand and I**—Tibor Machan on his tumultuous relationships with Ayn Rand, Nathaniel Branden and other Objectivists.

✓ **Goodbye, Galactic Empire**—J. R. Dunn explores the frontier of fiction, and sees a ray of hope in the development of libertarian science fiction.

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Libertarian Profile

The APC's Mary Gingell

Mary Gingell is chair of one of the most active committees of the Libertarian Party's national organization—the Affiliate Parties Committee.

Her committee currently is working on a national telephone tree, an issues talent bank and speakers' bureau, brainstorming sessions among state chairs, and a management training seminar for state party leaders.

A graduate of the University of Virginia, Gingell worked for Arthur Andersen, a big-eight accounting firm, in Houston from 1977-1979. During this time she became a CPA as well as earning a CMA (Certificate in Management Accounting). She then attended Harvard Business School, earning an MBA with emphasis in management of transportation and other service industries.

She worked for the Southern Pacific Transportation Company from 1981-1986, where she was Manager, Commute Services, overseeing an annual budget of \$20 million. Since 1986, she has spent much of her time raising her two children (Daniel, 3, and Pamela, 2) as well as doing volunteer work at the YWCA, the Birth Place (a free-standing childbirth center in Menlo Park, CA), and La Leche League, an international network of support groups for mothers who breastfeed.

Gingell discovered the libertarian movement at the 1981 Massachusetts LP convention, which she attended at the invitation of a business school classmate. She immediately joined the Massachusetts party, and the first day she arrived in California to begin her transportation job, she sought out local LP activists and quickly became active in the county LP organization.

Gingell soon became active at the state level, serving as LP of California treasurer (1981-82) and then LP of California Chair (1982-84). In 1982, Gingell ran for controller of the State of California on the Libertarian Party ticket. She edited the newsletter of the California party from 1982 to 1984 and was controller of the 1984 national Presidential campaign.

In 1983-85, she served as national LP vice chair. After Paul Grant resigned as national chair, Gingell served briefly as acting national chair. She chaired most of the floor debate at the 1985 Phoenix national convention.

A Breakthrough Convention in Philadelphia

continued from page 1

education as a major issue. Opposition to the drug war and support of the individual freedom to end pregnancy were the other issues that evoked similar strong response.

The drug war, Walter warned, "may well become the Vietnam of the 1990s" and he urged party members to prepare for the protests that should develop on the issue. A balance between the most popular libertarian positions and local ones should be developed, he said.

The Libertarian Party's job, Walter said, is to "organize people as a force for individual liberty." That work, he said, would involve dramatically increasing party membership by reaching out farther than ever to attract people who, although unfamiliar with all libertarian positions, are attracted to some specific ones.

Later, in a major speech to convention delegates and guests, Andre Marrou, most recent LP vice presidential candidate and a former Alaska state legislator, suggested some concrete dimensions to a nuts-and-bolts, grassroots approach to party building. The party's goal over the next several years, he said, should be "the election of a dozen libertarians to state legislatures and the increase of party dues-paying membership to 50,000." As with many other speakers, Marrou emphasized that TV advertising is crucial to building the party. Marrou also espoused what he said should be "the libertarian Golden Rule: Thou Shalt Fight the State and Not Each Other."

Marrou joined all those who stressed the importance of TV advertising. Seventy percent of all Americans, he said, "get all of their information about the world from TV." There are, he said, "750 million TV sets in this country; 36 million Americans say that watching TV is the activity they most look forward to each day; and an overwhelming 91 percent of viewers agree with the Libertarian Party in feeling that government shouldn't regulate TV. We should appeal to those people on that issue." "Even poor TV," he con-

Chinese Students Supported by LP

Representatives of the 3,000-member Philadelphia Area Chinese Students and Scholars Association were highly visible during the LP national convention.

This group is part of the Chinese student organization in America which manned telephones, computers, and FAX machines during the recent events in China in an effort to send the truth back to friends and family, and counteract the Chinese government propaganda.

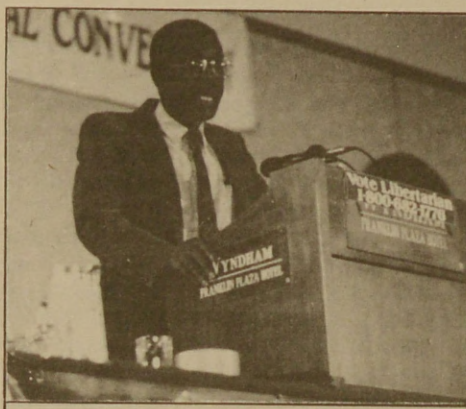
Duan-Quing Pei, the group's newsletter editor, asked the convention delegates to support the passage of U.S. House of Representatives Bill 2712, which if passed, would allow Chinese students currently in the U.S. to apply for a permanent visa, and would eliminate the present requirement that they return to China within two years after completing their studies. The convention delegates did vote to support the House Bill.

Pei was also presented a small Liberty Bell by the LP, as a symbol of the party's support—especially for the ultimate goal of replacing the current repressive Chinese regime with a democratically elected government.

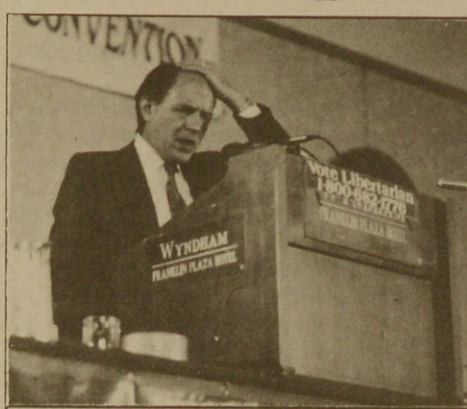
The Chinese students manned a booth throughout the convention, selling T-shirts commemorating the Beijing Massacre and espousing support for "Democracy in China." Delegates clearly supported the students, as these shirts were the single most common attire for delegates and attendees.

Huangxin Wang, one of the students working the booth, said the Libertarian Party was giving wonderful support to the students.

In comparing the Chinese student group and the LP, Wang said, "We have similar ideas, except in America the government is not so big, yet—while in China the government is already so big."



Walter Williams: Freedom, not downside risk.



Charles Murray: Engagement and affiliation.

cluded, "is better than no TV."

Steve Dasbach, the national LP's Campaign '90 chair, reported separately that "I have contact with state chairs and candidates all around the country. Two complementary strategies seem to be emerging for 1990 and beyond: (1) Libertarians should work to elect libertarians to office in partisan races. This requires focusing on smaller offices (state legislatures or smaller) and concentrating resources. (2) Libertarians should use campaigns to generate inquiries for more information on the LP. These inquiries can form the basis for increases in membership and support so that future candidates can run to win. The no-budget, line-holder, provide-a-choice strategy seems to be on the decline."

An epitomization of the new "radical practicality" that formed such a distinct theme throughout the convention, came in the presentation to the convention by Frances Kendall who, with her husband, Leon Louw, has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize because of the work the two have done toward effecting a solution to the problems in South Africa. (Their proposal, basically, would divide the country into Swiss-style cantons which would be formed by people to directly reflect their preferences of ways to live.)

Applauded by most libertarians, the work of Kendall and Louw has been strongly attacked by some as not libertarian enough since it still envisions the existence of a national state and of laws and legislatures. This difference has been a prominent but now apparently diminishing line along which much of past LP factionalism has divided itself.

Kendall and Louw, in addition to their work in their native land, have been working with other African governments to write constitutions that would guarantee a free market economy and limit government power. It is this sort of achievable, practical incremental approach to liberty that now seems more and more attractive to the Libertarian Party's membership.

The outreach possibilities of a new openness in the LP was evident in a panel, chaired by the editor of the NEWS, on libertarian allies. Tax resisters (or, as they prefer, tax patriots), gun owners, anti-drug-law groups, free press supporters, and feminists were represented on the panel.

John Famularo, chair of the Pennsylvania LP, host of the convention, already has put some of this alliance building into effect by appearing at meetings of the national anti-helmet-law group, ABATE. He reports that there is a possibility of the LP and ABATE producing a publication together to show and share their mutual interests. Famularo further reports that ABATE officials are even now urging their more than a hundred thousand members to consider joining the LP which is the only political party actively interested in and supporting the ABATE cause.

During the debate between the three candidates for the national chairmanship of the party, the following issues were emphasized:

Robert Murphy, who came in third in the voting but whose favorable impression on most delegates was obvious, said that the party's rule should be "advertise, advertise, advertise." He also apologized to the convention for his "hasty" action in requesting a Federal Elections Commission investigation of financial irregularities in the Ron Paul organization which might have affected the Libertarian Party. [Those irregularities, involving an alleged six-figure misappropriation,

are being investigated by Texas authorities with the full support of Ron Paul. No impact on Libertarian Party funds has been shown.]

Dr. Matt Monroe, who joined in the strong support for making increased membership a party priority and who cited his own work along those lines as the party's membership committee chair, also stressed his experience as publisher of *The American Libertarian* as a qualification for the chair position. His supporters produced several strong criticisms of the current LP NEWS with enthusiastic approval of *The American Libertarian* as a model for a publication alternative.

Dave Walter, who won the chair election on the first ballot, stressed his performance so far as national chair; said that, although the presidential campaign is important, local campaigns need new emphasis; and cited an end to America's role as policeman to the world, opposition to the drug war, and opposition to taxation and spending, as issues on which the LP could make broad appeals to the public.

The best attended single event of the convention, with more than 400 persons in the audience, was a presentation by Walter Williams and Charles Murray on "The Welfare State and the Poor."

One of the largest bursts of applause during the entire convention came when Williams said that government schools "provide grossly fraudulent education." The nation spends billions on so-called public schools, he said, "while we watch education decline." Parents, he said, should be empowered to find their own solutions to their own problems. A voucher system would move in that direction, according to the nationally respected economist. "If the voucher system destroyed public education, as some say it would, I see no downside risk..."

Murray, whose book, *Losing Ground*, is a definitive attack on the welfare state, raised a standard for libertarians to consider as they navigate toward broader appeal to Americans of all sorts. The most essential elements of a happy life, he said, "are engagement and affiliation." The welfare system has left people without a sense of being able to engage in important work, even the maintenance of their own lives and families. Also, their ability to affiliate with others, a source of pleasure for middle class Americans, is denied by the high-rise ghetto mentality of government planners, he explained. Murray advised that libertarians think of "the pursuit of happiness" as an actual political value, preceding even such things as economic efficiency.

Specific suggestions for libertarian political activists: Support efforts to make it possible for non-certified teachers to be employed throughout the private and public school systems; urge that trials for crimes be judged by juries drawn totally from the immediate area in which the crime was committed; treat poor people "with the same respect we want for ourselves." This would mean, he added, "giving back to poor people the opportunity to do the things that make our own lives happier...engagement and affiliation."

Reflecting exactly the same mood for the libertarian movement, Mary Ruwart spoke to the convention on "The Libertarian Community." Libertarians, she said, should feel part of a community, celebrating the things they share, rather than separating into warring ideological camps. The same sense of engagement and affiliation that makes other people happy, she suggested, should make libertarian lives more happily productive.

The Platform Debate: Short, Hot, Incomplete

Debate on the Libertarian Party platform produced heated exchanges in two plank areas: abortion and the Middle East.

Dozens of technical, usually grammatical, changes passed easily. Other plank proposals produced some discussion but little hard disagreement. They also did not produce any sharp differences with the past platform. Due to time limitations, many proposed plank revisions didn't make it to the floor, leaving the originals in the platform as they were.

The abortion issue was marked by a minority report of platform committee members who, quoting David Bergland's *Libertarianism in One Lesson*, wanted to change the plank to "Under no circumstances should government force anyone to subsidize another's abortion. Many libertarians hold that there should be no legal penalties for a woman who decides to terminate her pregnancy. Others hold that abortion does involve the violation of rights [of the fetus] and should be illegal."

The majority report on the plank was: "Those who wish to restrict the legal right to abortion gravely threaten individual liberty. A woman should have an unconditional legal right to terminate her pregnancy. We oppose all efforts to regulate or restrict that right."

Speaking for the minority report was Willy Marshall of Utah, one of the signers of the minority position. His point was short and clear: The minority proposal represents "sincere differences" among Libertarian Party members that should be recognized.

Bill Bradford, publisher of *Liberty* magazine, defended the majority position forcefully and with practical emphasis. Surveys taken by his magazine, he said, show that only 10 percent of party members are opposed to abortion by choice. Further, he said, taking a firm pro-choice position should gain votes for the party. And, finally, he declared, freedom of choice is a libertarian position.

With more people lined up at the microphones to speak on the plank than for any other platform item, the issue finally was left unvoted; thus, the existing platform plank, "recognizing" a woman's right to make a personal choice to terminate her pregnancy, remains in place.

Where the arguments on the abortion issue had been emotional but not overtly bitter, the argument on the Middle East was both.

The majority plank, in this instance, was a straightforward call on the U.S. to cease all of its interventions in the Middle East.

The minority report was just as straightforward a call to not only cease intervention but specifically to repudiate Israel and the U.S. "special relationship" with that country. Peace can come in the Middle East, the proposed plank said, "only when a settlement is reached with the Palestinians regarding their confiscated properties, and this will not occur so long as the United States government continues to support the state of Israel."

Dr. Murray Rothbard vigorously denounced those who opposed the minority plank and, in particular, said he was "sick and tired" of charges that a repudiation of Israel could be seen as anti-Semitic. Dean Ahmad, also speaking for the minority report, said that since he is a Semite, and also wanted to see Israel repudiated, the charges of anti-Semitism were groundless.

Even after the majority report was voted into acceptance, proponents of the minority position kept hammering sarcastically at their opponents by proposing that, in other planks dealing with U.S. intervention, the phrase "except in the case of Israel" be inserted.

It's time to raise the minimum rage.

—Dave Walter during convention speech



Frances Kendall: A libertarian heroine whose quiet strength impressed everyone.

C-SPAN Television Network Airs LP Convention Around the World

One of the biggest media breakthroughs in LP history came when the national C-SPAN cable network broadcast 65 hours of national convention coverage. Some of the convention panels, including the one on the dangers of the war on drugs, were broadcast several times.

C-SPAN's network (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network) covers all 50 states, including every state capital, and reaches a potential audience of 46.6 million. In addition, it is picked up by the United States Information Agency and is beamed through them to embassies, military bases, and countries around the world.

Immediate response to the convention coverage came in the form of 1300 calls to the national office 800 number.

By 10 days after the convention, the national office had mailed 1153 information packets to the callers. (More than one hundred of the calls left on the national office answering machine did not have complete addresses or were inaudible, unfortunately.)

Helping National Director Nick Dunbar in the

full-press effort to respond to the calls promptly were the other members of the office staff, MeMe King, Richard Perry, and intern Julian Kiverstein plus two volunteers from Virginia, Dave Horne and Bruce Earnheart. A surprise volunteer who ended up typing all 1153 addresses into the mail program, was the chair of the LP of Utah, Bob Waldrop, who was in town to lobby for the passage of HR 1582, the bill which would ease the ballot requirements for third party candidates.

Following up on the C-SPAN breakthrough, Don Ernsberger contacted the major networks to arouse interest in the party's anti-drug-war positions. One, CBS, has expressed interest.

Ernsberger has worked with C-SPAN since May, including several trips to Washington to describe convention events. C-SPAN has asked to be notified of all future LP events. They found this one "valuable."

C-SPAN's address, for libertarians who want to thank them for the coverage of the LP convention, is 444 North Capitol St., NW, Washington, DC 20001.

Streamlined NatCom Sets to Work

The National Committee, streamlined down to almost half its former size by vote of the national convention, has taken immediate action to fulfill the widespread sentiment for more effective LP public relations by appointing Toni Nathan, first woman ever to win an electoral candidate vote, as LP candidate for vice president, to the full-time job of media relations for the party.

Nathan, who will operate from her office in Eugene, OR, got off to a fast start with national press releases on the convention itself and on the drug war.

Her goals are to make good media contacts (a job she has performed superbly in all her party activity); to keep the libertarian point of view always before them; to let radio, TV, and newspaper interviewers know who they can depend on for good appearances or quotes; and to make LP comments on an immediate-response basis.

The streamlined NatCom that appointed Nathan, who had been serving as Media Committee chair, now consists of five at-large members instead of seven, and a maximum of 10 regional representatives rather than 20. The convention also ended the practice of having the past immediate chair of the party serve as a member of the National Committee.

The NatCom also approved a crucial party document, the Program (as distinct from the Platform), which puts forth timely views on popular issues. The Program, printed in full draft form in the July/August issue of the Libertarian Party

NEWS, was approved substantially as drafted. Its purpose is to be a working tool for party outreach, making party views clear on specific issues, and proposing practical, incremental solutions rather than insisting on ultimate ones.

Officers elected by the convention were Dave Walter, chair; Mary Gingell, vice-chair; Steven Fielder, treasurer, and Joe Dehn, secretary.

The executive committee of NatCom consists of all the officers and Bill Redpath, auditor of the party and chair of the LP of Virginia.

Names of the new NatCom members are shown in the box to the right of this article.

Nick Dunbar was reappointed as national director.

Committee chairs appointed by the National Committee are:

- Finance: Steve Alexander.
- Affiliate Parties: Mary Gingell.
- Campaign '90: Steve Dasbach.
- Outreach: Toni Black.
- Media Relations: Gary Johnson.
- Legal Committee: Bill Hall.
- Internal Education: Norma Segal.
- Advertising Development: Dave Nolan.
- Assistant to the Chair: Don Ernsberger.

Publications Review Committee members are Ted Brown, Dean Ahmad, Williamson Evers.

Program Committee members (to keep the Program updated, with NatCom approval) are Steven Givot, Steve Dasbach, and Tonie Nathan.

Libertarian National Committee

5 September 1989

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Vice-Chair	Mary Gingell	579 Vista Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94306 415-856-2316
Secretary	Joseph W. Dehn III	PO Box 11692, Eugene, OR 97440-3892 503-484-6793 CompuServe: 70305,241 Fidonet: Joe Dehn on 1:152/20
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	Steve Alexander	824 Bing Drive, Santa Clara, CA 95051 408-554-1119
	Toni Black	110 Riggs Drive, Clemson, SC 29631 803-653-7514
	William Redpath	2934 S. Columbus Street, Arlington, VA 22206 703-379-0783 (h) 703-478-5880 (o)
	Norma D. Segal	67 Bon Air Avenue, New Rochelle, NY 10804 914-633-5137
Region 1	Karen Allard	6901 Narrows Lane North, Tacoma, WA 98407 206-759-1838
Region 2	Geoffrey J. Neale	8801 Cedros Avenue, #7 Panorama City, CA 91402 818-893-6884 Fax: 818-893-8748
	George O'Brien	1582 39th Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122 415-731-3031
Region 3	Stephen L. Dasbach	4523 Morning Wind Place Fort Wayne, IN 46804 219-432-7430 CompuServe: 76060,3222
Region 4	Ron Crickenberger	1351 New Hope Road, Locust Grove, GA 30248 404-957-6825
Region 5	Clifford Thies	2432 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, MD 21217 301-255-4179
Region 6	Vicki Kirkland	PO Box 2110, Times Sq. Sta. New York, NY 10036 212-219-2702 (h) 212-822-5008 (o)
Region 7	Steven I. Givot	Rt. 7 - One Middlebury Road Barrington Hills, IL 60010-9648 312-382-2098 (h) 312-663-2725 (o)
Region 8	Gary Johnson	2001 Parker Lane, #134, Austin, TX 78741-3849 512-441-6378

Region Definitions:

- 1: Alaska, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming
 - 2: California
 - 3: Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Virginia, West Virginia
 - 4: Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee
 - 5: Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania
 - 6: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont
 - 7: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin
 - 8: Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas
- Not in a region: Alabama

Drug War Salvos

Tonie Nathan Leaping into Media Relations Role

Within days of her appointment to handle media relations for the Libertarian Party, Tonie Nathan was firing off press releases to the national press.

In immediate response to the drug war issue, she sent statements from Ron Paul, the party's most recent presidential candidate, and from the party's chair, Dave Walter. The statements:

By Ron Paul. Alcohol is a very dangerous drug. It kills 100,000 Americans every year. But it is no business of government to outlaw liquor. In a free society, adults have the right to do whatever they wish, so long as they do not aggress or commit fraud against others. Tobacco is an even more dangerous drug. It kills 350,000 Americans a year in long, lingering, painful deaths.

As a physician, I urge people not to smoke. But I would not be justified in calling in the police. Adults have a right to smoke even though it harms them.

The fact is, 3600 people die each year from drug abuse. That's less than four percent of those doomed by alcohol, about one percent of those killed by tobacco. Yet we are taxed—and are supposed to undergo extensive other restrictions on our liberty—to support a multi-billion dollar

war on drugs which, like all the other wars since the Revolution, benefits only the government and its allied special interests at the people's expense.

The 1980s war on drugs has increased the U.S. prison population by 60 percent, while street crime has zoomed. Seventy percent of the people arrested for serious crimes are drug users. And all evidence shows that they commit these crimes to support a habit made extremely expensive by government prohibition.

Urban street crime, which terrorizes millions of Americans, is largely the creation of the U.S.

White House Protest

The well covered protest against the drug war, held across from the White House shortly after the Libertarian Party national convention, was widely identified as having been organized by NORML, the nationally known drug law reform group. Actually, it was just as much a Libertarian Party event. The LP obtained the permit (ugh) for the protest and helped put together a NORML, Resist, and LP coalition for the event. Thirty LP members from as far away as Texas participated, and LP banners were proudly flying.

drug laws. That alone is reason enough for legalization.

Instead of spending tax money and assaulting civil liberties in the name of fighting drugs—usually couched in childish military metaphors—we should consider a policy based on the American tradition of freedom.

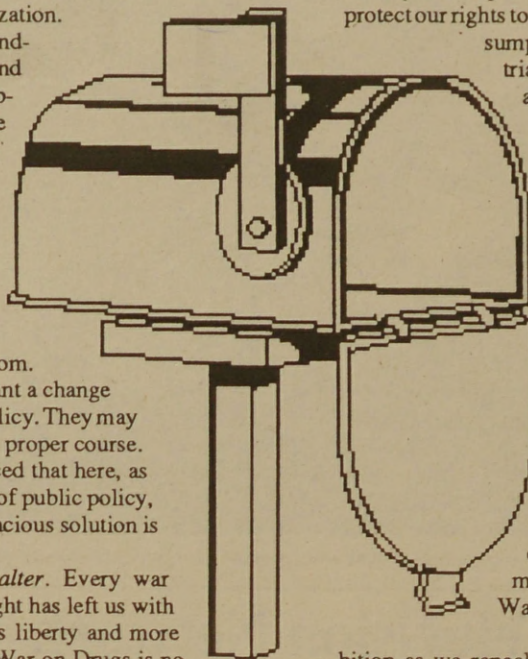
Americans want a change in federal drug policy. They may wonder about the proper course. But I am convinced that here, as in all other areas of public policy, the just and efficacious solution is liberty.

By Dave Walter. Every war America has fought has left us with two legacies: less liberty and more cemeteries. The War on Drugs is no exception. We already have less liberty as new laws attempt to monitor and restrict personal behavior and the next step may be the unloading of body bags from Colombia if President Bush persists in trying to achieve his stated goals in South America. To fight a war, the government always increases the money and power of the

military and suspends many of the safeguards that protect our rights to privacy, due process and presumption of innocence until after trial. This is happening already as random search and seizure escalates, police powers are enlarged, banking rules of privacy are overridden, and confiscation of personal property before proof of guilt becomes the norm. All citizens suffer, not just the drug users and suppliers, when the government uses the tactics of a police state.

The war in the streets will end only when we recognize the parallel between gangster shootings in the streets of Chicago in the Twenties and the murders in Los Angeles and Washington of today.

We must repeal drug prohibition as we repealed alcohol prohibition, thus wiping out overnight the enormous illegal profits that create an irresistible incentive for pushing drugs. Drug users deserve our compassion and help, not prisons and persecutions. Drug dealers deserve to be wiped out by the falling prices re-legalization would create.



★★ Liberty ★★ Two Voices Speak Out

By Zachary King

The author, who lives in Vilonia, AR, joined the Libertarian Party last April, on his 12th birthday.

My dictionary defines liberty as "the state of being free." My country defines liberty as "the State deciding our freedom."

I am only 12 years old, but I am very much aware of how our freedom is in jeopardy. My parents work, they make money, and the government steals it. One day I will work, make money, and the government will steal it. I could refuse to pay and "they" will put me in jail.

My family for generations have been gun owners. I too own a gun. Why do "they" want to take this freedom away from me? I am not violent, I would never use my gun in an aggressive way. I enjoy hunting and the security of self-defense.

The government school I attend decides for me what courses I study, what I wear, and "they" won't even allow dancing. It's sinful, they say. I would rather make these decisions for myself.

I am interested in space exploration. I feel it would be best if the private sector would be allowed to compete to advance man's exploration of space. Wouldn't we be much farther along if this were allowed? My mom explains that this is a free market idea. I like Guess jeans better than Levis. I can choose. Why can't we apply this choice to space exploration?

When I am older, I want to petition to help get the LP candidates on the ballot (if I am not in jail for refusing to register for the draft. The draft is slavery). I think the current ballot laws are silly, and having to petition costs a lot of money. I hope that one day we will have permanent ballot status in every state.

The way I see the Constitution being rewritten by our government, Miss Liberty may as well be holding a gun instead of a torch that shines the light of freedom. I am glad that I am a libertarian. I may not understand all the issues, but I do understand the basic principles of freedom and I hope other kids will learn about the Libertarian Party.

By Senator Bob Kerrey

Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE), a Medal of Honor winner in Vietnam, issued one of the most libertarian statements of all, at the na-

tional level, supporting the Supreme Court decision to protect flag burning as a form of free speech. Excerpts from his Senate speech on the subject are presented here.

The court's decision was the fifth since 1931 that found use or abuse of the flag to be a form of expression protected by the Constitution. The court has long held that the First Amendment applies to conduct as well as pure speech. Such conduct is protected if an intent to convey a particular message is present and if it is understood by those who view it, as the court has held in the case of students wearing black armbands, picketing, and attaching peace signs to the flag.

John Stuart Mill, in his 1859 essay "On Liberty," offered three reasons why the expression of opinion should rarely be limited. First, the suppressed opinion might be right; its suppression might deprive mankind of the opportunity of "exchanging error for truth." Second, even though the opinion might be false, it may contain "a portion of truth" and "it is only by the collision of adverse opinions," each of which contains partial truth, "that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied." Third, even if the opinion to be silenced is completely wrong, in silencing it mankind loses "what is almost as great a benefit as that [of truth], the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."

...Flag burning is in the last category. It does not persuade us that the burner holds an opinion that is true...Chief Justice Rehnquist, in his disappointing dissent, asserts that men and women fought for our flag in Vietnam. In my case I do not remember feeling this way.

...I don't remember giving the safety of our flag anywhere near the thought I gave the safety of my men.

I do remember thinking about going home, and I remember why that home felt so good to me. I remember longing to be back in the old neighborhood. I remember most vividly on the night that I was wounded, with the smell of my own burning flesh in my head, that I knew I was going home and how happy I was with that certainty.

America—the home of the free and the brave—is my home, and I give thanks to God that it is. America—the home of the free and the brave—does not need our government to protect us from those who burn a flag.

NatCom Minutes Now Available

By Joe Dehn

Choosing a middle path between the traditional (but costly) practice of sending minutes of meetings to all state chairs, and the more recent practice of providing minutes only to paying subscribers, the new Libertarian National Committee decided at its first meeting to make minutes available without charge to any state chair who requests them.

State chairs will also get the agenda of upcoming meetings, so they will have a chance to discuss the topics ahead of time with their regional representative or other LNC members.

State chairs may receive this material by simply notifying the national office. The same service continues to be available to any member who pays a fee to cover the copying and mailing cost.

For those who need to know more quickly what happens at LNC meetings, I will also be providing a short report through the "LPUS echo" on Fidonet. This will include a summary of the most significant items discussed or decided upon at each meeting. State chairs and other activists who have a computer with a modem but don't know how to access the LPUS echo should contact me for more information.

The next meeting of the LNC is scheduled for December 2-3 in San Diego.

Counting the Gate

The total number of people attending the Libertarian Party's national convention was 522. There were 337 delegates registered; the highest number voting on any issue was 317. There were 178 people at the pre-convention roast of Karl Hess, sponsored by the Society for Individual Liberty. There were 340 at the final banquet in honor of Dr. Ron Paul. The presentation by Walter Williams and Charles Murray was the best attended event with more than 400 present.

Editor's Note

Two of our regular and popular features, Ideas Digest and Around the States, will not appear in this issue. The space usually devoted to them was needed for coverage of the national convention. They will resume in our next issue.

Means Prevented from Attending Convention

Russell Means, libertarian Indian activist, scheduled for a major speaking role at the Libertarian Party's national convention, was unavoidably prevented from attending because of a not unfamiliar activist problem: arrest. Means, attempting to make a citizen's arrest of a Bureau of Indian Affairs bureaucrat who had participated in what Means saw as a clearly illegal effort to oust elected officials of the Navaho nation, was himself arrested and was not released in time to attend the convention.

Join a New Task Force

Help the chair develop the party's projects, outreach activities, media efforts, etc., in these areas:

- THE WAR ON DRUGS
- U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE OVERSEAS
- TAXATION AND SPENDING
- VOLUNTARY CENSUS 1990

If you want to serve on any of these task forces contact Dave Walter at 894 Pine Road, Warminster, PA 18974.

Convention Laughter

Voting for chair of the Libertarian Party was done in the traditional political convention style, state by state, with the delegates often making a booster's claim before casting their vote. Most were serious. Some were hilarious:

"The mildly interesting state of Iowa..."

"Kansas, where it takes ten taxpayers to feed one farmer..."

"Louisiana, northernmost Third World Country..."

"Nevada, which stands squarely for the right of silver haired ladies in pink hair curlers, bathrobes, and bunny slippers to play slot machines..."

LP's BIG in Texas

By Bruce Baechler

Freedom is alive in the Lone Star State, and the Libertarian Party of Texas is growing. Groups are active in five cities, other counties are in the process of being organized, and there are student groups on several campuses. The 1990 elections will be our third consecutive time on the ballot, but we face our biggest challenge yet in having to get five percent of the state-wide vote to avoid petitioning in 1992.

To understand the Texas LP, you have to understand something of Texas itself. Texas is BIG—over 800 miles east-west from Orange to El Paso and about the same from Brownsville in south Texas to Amarillo in the Panhandle. These distances make it difficult to have a lot of interaction and joint activity among groups around Texas, so most LP activity takes place at the county level.

Texas is diverse in its land, its people, and its attitudes, and this diversity makes it particularly susceptible to the libertarian message. We have 254 counties, and they are all different. South Texas is culturally and geographically closer to Mexico than to the plains of the Panhandle, and Loving County in the west is far removed from central Houston.

Texans are diverse politically, too, with liberals, conservatives, Chicano separatists, populists and libertarians all in the mix. But until very recently this was effectively a one party state. The liberal and conservative wings of the Democrat Party ran the state between them (much like the PRI runs Mexico or the CP runs the Soviet Union) and it seemed the Republicans existed only to dole out federal patronage when they were in power in Washington. This has changed in recent years, with a lot of conservative Democrats joining the Republicans and the Republicans winning two of the last three governor's races. But it wasn't until 1988 that the Republicans won a state-wide race down-ballot from the Governor, and they still don't have organizations in many counties.

Despite this domination by the Democrats, there is a strong individualist streak in Texas. Texans do not trust the government very much, and they don't expect it to do a lot. And it doesn't: Texas ranks 49th in per capita public debt, 48th in per capita taxes, and 49th in per capita federal aid. Every time someone calls for a state income tax, a dozen voices call for a constitutional amendment to forbid a state income tax. County Commissioners do not have authority to pass ordinances, so zoning and other such regulations exist only in some cities.

This is great for Libertarians as individuals, but it makes it harder to organize as a party when government is less outrageous in its actions and people believe they can keep it under control through the major parties. Many people who would be Libertarians in other states still work within the Demopublicans here.

Perhaps the feature that most uniquely shapes Texas's political character, from a libertarian viewpoint, is independence. Texas joined the United States as a sovereign nation, and Texans are very conscious of this. When a Texan speaks of "the Revolution," he or she means the Texas Revolution. "SECEDE" stickers decorate bumpers across the state, and the LP platform calls for a plebiscite to determine if we should remain in the United States.

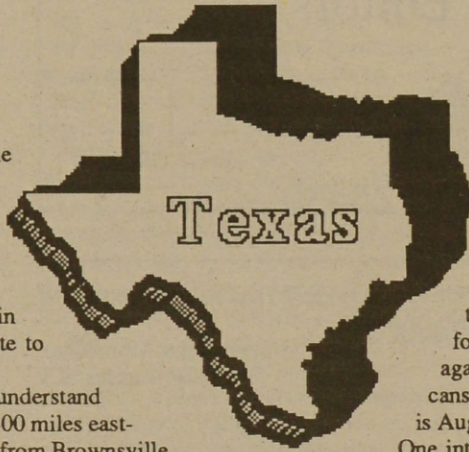
Local Groups

Someone once said "All politics is local," and Texas Libertarians understand this. Most Libertarians in Texas, like most Texans, live in the cities. We have active groups in Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Austin. Student groups are active at University of Houston, Texas Tech, University of Texas, Rice University and University of Texas at Arlington. A number of other areas have small groups or individuals working to organize groups.

Houston has the largest Libertarian group in Texas, and is the greatest source of votes for the party—not surprising since the national LP and the Ron Paul for President campaign have each been headquartered here in recent years. Several Libertarians hold local appointive office. Libertarians came within one vote of controlling the Harris County School Board a few years ago on an abolition platform. The Demopublicans responded by making it the only partisan school board in the state, much more difficult for us to win.

Houston is the home of the LPT's successful Independence Pledge, the basis of the state party finances, with John Kormylo serving as Chief Elf. Pledgers of \$5 per month or more receive special monthly mailings and free state and national memberships. Houston Libertarians have active video and supper clubs.

The Dallas County Libertarian Party has concentrated on expanding its mailing list over the past year. In six months they have already built their list to 650 names, doubling their size and meeting their goal for the year. The DCLP also boasts what may be the only Libertarian bowling team. County Chair Barry Moore says it's a great way to meet ordinary people in a relaxed setting. Dallas hosted



the State Conference this year, and also has a regular supper club. An upcoming project is the DART (transit) elections.

Fort Worth has one of the most active groups in the state. As this is written, their primary activity is getting Robert Buckingham elected to the U.S. Congress. Robert is running for former Speaker Jim Wright's seat against several Democrats and Republicans, and is getting good press. The election is August 12.

One interesting project of Fort Worth Libertarians is to send outreach materials to people against whom the IRS has filed liens. These names and addresses are public record, and the effort has already resulted in some potential members. Libertarians are also providing moral support for a local minister who is being harassed and fined by the health department because he is feeding the homeless from an unapproved kitchen. C.B. Mauldin maintains a dedicated phone line for the Tarrant County LP, as most county parties do.

Austin is an anomaly in Texas: It has the highest per capita debt in the nation, is over-regulated and over-taxed. Not surprisingly, the Travis County LP is quite active. Weekly discussion groups have been meeting for three years, and their cable TV show "Live and Let Live" has been on the air twice weekly for over two years. The supper club has just been revived, and a monthly Introduction to the LP session is planned for the Fall. Austin Libertarians share a storefront office with the state party, and have negotiated a reduced rent from the landlord who appreciates their local anti-tax organizing.

Austin Libertarians have been particularly concerned with outreach efforts to a broad range of people and groups. Local Libertarians are active in such varied groups as NORML, Parents for Choice in Education, Austin First Council, Texas Freedom Network, Austin Pro-Choice Coalition, National Firearms Association, Lone Star Greens, and Austin War Tax Resistance. Libertarians led the opposition to two recent bond elections, building contacts in temporary alliances with radical blacks, conservative taxpayer groups, neighborhood activists, and others, and are currently considering a campaign to fight zoning laws to help the homeless.

San Antonio is the site of the annual 1040 Run each April 15, where Libertarian Robert Willcot runs 10 hours and 40 minutes to protest the income tax. Other San Antonio projects include an active supper club and Citizens for Musical Liberty, which fought anti-rock music puritans.

San Antonio Libertarians are planning an outreach effort to "ordinary people" via direct mail, a project which may be a valuable model for other Libertarians. In 1990 they plan to concentrate their active electoral efforts on one local race, running paper candidates in other slots, to try to come in second in a three-way race.

On the state-wide level, the Texas LP reached a milestone in 1988 with the election of its first two partisan officeholders. Wendell Weatherford of Austin and Michael Rubin of San Antonio were elected Public Weighers of Travis and Bexar Counties, respectively. Perhaps prompted by this success, the Legislature this session decreed that those who win on abolish-the-office platforms (as Wendell and Mike did) cannot draw a salary. On election night, the County Judge (head commissioner) asked Wendell not to perform his duties, so the county would not have to purchase a bond! Wendell is happy to oblige by doing nothing.

City government in Texas is non-partisan, and a number of Libertarians hold appointments on city commissions and boards, transit advisory boards, and at least one draft board. Libertarians have run for school boards, city council, and community college districts. Currently Gary Johnson is campaigning for the Austin Independent School District board to be elected in January.

Perhaps the most active Libertarian in local government is former Travis County Vice Chair James Cooley, who serves on the Austin Downtown Commission; runs the Austin First Council, a private group which works for sanity in local government; invented a Library Gold Card program to help privatize library funding; and is about to manage a city council campaign for a quasi-libertarian Hispanic.

Cooley walks a fine line between being sucked into the political games played at City Hall and getting close enough to see what is really going on. He has helped give Austin Libertarians a better understanding of the realities of local politics, and, with the council campaign, the opportunity to get hands-on experience in a major campaign.

A good example of Cooley's ability to keep his integrity while mucking around in real politics was on July 27, which the Mayor proclaimed "James Cooley Appreciation Day" in honor of his invention of the Library Gold Card. Cooley accepted the proclamation

(complete with gold seal), then headed to an LP demonstration where he became the only city official to oppose the Mayor's attempts to build a city-owned convention center.

The State LP has also been active on the legislative front. Libertarians testified against regulation of midwives and in favor of replacing state taxes with a lottery. State Chair Bruce Baechler spoke at a rally against imposing helmet laws, and Libertarians helped organize a pro-Second Amendment rally at the Capitol this spring. Libertarians organized and are active in Parents for Choice in Education, which is working for a voucher or tax credit system to help develop the market for private education. Libertarians are also involved in the reproductive rights movement.

The Future

The Texas LP is working on many fronts for freedom. Our biggest challenge in the near future will be to maintain our ballot status in 1990 and beyond. We need to get either two percent in the Governor's race or five percent in another state-wide race. In recent years the Republicans have not filled the state-wide ballot, concentrating on races they thought they could win and leaving one or more two-way races for us. This will probably not be the case in 1990, because the Republicans have grown stronger. Getting five percent in a three-way race will be a new challenge for the Texas LP, but the alternative is having to meet Texas's restrictive petitioning requirements in 1992.

While ballot access forces us to focus on state wide races at present, long-range electoral success lies in tapping the latent libertarian sentiment in the smaller counties. There are 254 counties in Texas, many of them with less than 5000 voters. Strong local parties should be able to win a majority on some Commissioner's Courts. And these smaller counties will be easier to privatize than the big cities.

In Texas, as everywhere, the key to creating a libertarian society is convincing individuals to stop tolerating big government. Libertarians in Texas are working hard to make this happen.

Bruce Baechler lives in "the center of the known universe"—Austin, Texas," and is the state chair.

Utah is Appealing

By Bobby Max

The United Libertarian Appeal is a fundraising tactic that Utah Libertarians hope will set a standard for cooperation between state affiliate parties, other movement groups, and the national party organization. Utah libertarians believe that we are all on the same team, and that anything which enhances cooperation is good for the movement.

The ULA is based on fundraising tactics already proven successful and is designed to solve several basic problems in libertarian fundraising including: high costs of conventional fundraising, lack of donor control over gifts, lack of available funds for local projects, lack of built-in magnifiers.

Each contributing member is asked for a pledge of 36 cents a day. Funds are to be divided as follows:

- 60 percent to the county and state Libertarian Parties
- 5 percent to Libertarian International
- 5 percent to Advocates for Self-Government
- 10 percent each to the LP national Affiliate Parties

Committee, Ballot Access Committee, and the national headquarters.

Participants receive a label suitable for placing on a spare change donation jar that will remind them of their daily "cost of freedom"—36 cents. In addition, each participant pledges to make his or her best effort to recruit two additional people each year to make these same commitments.

Political power in the 1990s will proceed out of a fat bank account and a grassroots, mass organization. Through the United Libertarian Appeal, Utah libertarians have a structured tactic leading directly, without fruitless detours, toward that basic goal.

Utah libertarians also have developed a high impact, effective rapid response system to make the libertarian position clear on current issues of importance in the state. It is called SWAT (SWift Action Team).

The SWAT system developed out of practical necessity when past State Chair Bob Waldrop read in a Salt Lake City morning paper of major regressive changes proposed for Utah's already bizarre liquor laws.

After discussing the libertarian position (which was, in fact, already well defined) with current state chair Doug Jones, and

continued on page 12

TPS

I was certainly relieved to discover that I was not the only person to run into trouble with the National Student/Parent Mock Election (NS/PME) after reading Bernard Baltic's "Five Libertarian Party Building Points" (LP NEWS, May/June, 1989).

After working on the Missouri LP ballot drive last summer I wanted to find some mock election in which to vote for the Paul/Marrou ticket, as well as the LP candidates for state wide offices, because I will not reach voting age until 1991. So, I joined the NS/PME thinking that I might just be able to vote LP. However, when I received the sample ballot only two candidates were listed. At this point, when I discovered that the NS/PME was afflicted with TPS (Two Party Syndrome), I decided to phone in my vote for the LP anyway just to see what they would do. They told me that they would not count the vote for the Paul/Marrou ticket at all and they would only count the votes for the LP candidates for Governor, Senator, and U.S. House as write-ins because they were listed on the official Missouri ballot.

After all this I proceeded to write a letter to the NS/PME state coordinator explaining my predicament and received an apologetic letter in response with promise that my concerns had been forwarded to the NS/PME headquarters in Tucson. However, I am sure that my complaints have been ignored and no alterations in policy have been made.

John LaBeaume
University City, MO

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California Ballot

The Libertarian Party in California will lose ballot status in early 1991 unless we either double our percentage of the state's registrations to one percent or we get two percent of the vote for a state-wide office. We have people working on getting the registrations, but that is going to take many man-hours and there is no guarantee of success. I have been taking the other option, running a campaign for state-wide office which is (almost) guaranteed to get over two percent. (Our candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and three other state-wide offices got between .5 and 1.9 percent in 1986. We retained ballot status because the Republicans did not run a candidate for state Treasurer, and we got about eight percent.)

Ted Brown, an insurance claims adjuster from Pasadena, is going for the Libertarian nomination for the newly created office of state Insurance Commissioner (the primary is in June 1990, and the election is in November 1990). Brown was state LP chair in 1988, and he has run for state assembly several times. If he gets over two percent, we retain ballot status.

We are going to run this campaign with one overriding goal—to maximize Brown's vote total. If that means running TV commercials with our candidate playing with kittens and puppies, then that's what we will do. We are in the process of hiring the media consultant that got Ron Paul on satellite during the closing months of the 1988 presidential election.

We are going to raise money from insurance companies, insurance agents, and yes, even Libertarians. We are trying to raise \$5000 initially to put the media consultant on retainer and to print up some literature. Please don't expect to get a fancy-schmancy campaign newsletter: We are going to be saving our pennies to have the maximum amount of money to put on TV commercials during the last few months of the campaign. If we work our butts off and play our cards right, you won't need a newsletter because the state (and maybe national) newspapers will be covering us almost as much as the Democrat and the Republican.

Scott Lieberman
San Jose, CA

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Results—Not Ideology

The American people don't understand ideology. They deliberately think in objective, realistic terms, avoiding all philosophical abstractions like the plague. They are not interested in our prin-

ciples; they are interested only in concrete examples of freedom. They will not forgive our failure to achieve meaningful results while we try to get organized and get our act together. They want results, and they want them now—in the coming four years. This is why they reject us at the polls in increasing numbers.

Until we can show some progress in rolling back the tide of bureaucracy, taxes, paperwork, and nitpicking regulations—the sort of thing which makes opening a new business nearly impossible in some cities, and which makes life a living hell for employers who now spend more time filing forms than manufacturing products—the public is not going to take us seriously.

Bob Shippy
Charlottesville, VA

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Matching Funds

The arguments presented against accepting matching funds (LP NEWS, July/August 1989) would make zero sense to 99 percent of the population, i.e., voters. Open-minded Libertarians should at least be willing to try a new approach. If matching funds proved to be against our interests, they could be stopped.

Additionally, these funds are available only because some taxpayers voluntarily choose to check the appropriate box on their income tax form. Let's not be dogmatic—let us accept matching funds.

Bill Hickman
Granville, OH

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Busy, Busy, Busy

Since being released on parole December 14, 1988, much to the horror of my parole agent and the L.A.P.D., I have appeared on seven television shows, including such national ones as "A Current Affair," "Sally Jessie Raphael," and "Morton Downey, Jr." In addition, I have done 13 radio interviews across the country, three college lectures, and six Libertarian supper clubs or other Libertarian functions, and one Mensa Forum in L.A. If the object of the L.A.P.D. and its political allies was to bully me into silence by putting me into prison (as I think it was), they have not succeeded. (At the Mensa Forum, I mentioned that I didn't understand why everyone with an I.Q. over 100 is not a libertarian!)

I have successfully completed six months of parole to date, and my parole agent is so unhappy with having to be my caretaker, that she is going to ask the parole board to release me from parole early. She says that I "am not a danger to society or anyone else, except myself, perhaps," and feels that supervising me further will be futile, since I obviously will continue to work towards the decriminalization of prostitution and other victimless adult activity, and will not "shut up." She realizes that the threat of reincarceration does not deter me from my course of action. Golly, why didn't they realize that before they took so much of my life away?

Anyway, I am kept busy writing a second book about the prison experience, making ceramic dolls, and being a general nuisance when I flood my parole agent with requests to travel to do more television appearances. I do believe that I have succeeded in optioning my story rights to a motion picture production company, and possibly the book to a publisher.

Please thank all the libertarians across the country who wrote me in prison and helped keep my spirits up. I cannot begin to tell them how

much it helped to know I had so many people out there on my side.

Norma Jean Almodovar
Los Angeles, CA

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Another Point

Douglas Merritt's article (LP NEWS, July/August 1989) offers some good advice, but what is sound in theory is subject to certain uncontrollable limitations in practice.

I wrote a letter to a newspaper describing what I thought would be an appropriate amendment to reduce the incidence of flag-burning (I suggested a constitutional amendment to limit government actions against those persons who take action to protect the U.S. flag from arsonists).

During the transcription to the printed page, my sentence structure was altered to such a degree that the context of the letter was reversed beyond what I had intended, and the result was that one sentence defended the rights of flag-arsonists.

I had expended a good deal of effort on the original letter to avoid grammatical errors and confusion. Therefore, I called the error to the editor's attention. He published a correction the following week, and misspelled my name in the process.

That newspaper obviously needs a proofreader more than it needs a libertarian columnist. The selection of a competent newspaper was one point Merritt forgot to make.

Frederick G. Schantz
Hastings, MI

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Why Hostility?

"Libertarianism will have no luck with those who have embraced a conservative ideology deep enough to become involved in the Republican Party," sermonizes Cris Crawford, editor of the Massachusetts LP newsletter (LP NEWS, July/August 1989). California state chair John Vernon recently called a group of fundamentalist parents "extremely un-Libertarian."

Why this hostility towards conservative Republicans? Wasn't Ron Paul once a Republican, involved enough to be a Congressman? And who could be more Libertarian than a group of parents who feel that their rights are being violated by big government, through the schools? As a former conservative Republican, the message is agonizingly clear: Republicans are not wanted.

Michael C. Vogt
West Hills, CA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

China

The atrocity against Liberty in Tienanmen Square must never be forgotten or forgiven.

Let all Libertarians quickly raise her from her ashes drenched by the blood of heroes to a place of safety and remembrance to one day return and be raised again in high honor in a Free China.

It is fitting that Libertarians, indeed, all libertarians throughout the world who revere her significance, erect her likeness here in America to one day return as a gift to the free people of China.

I would be pleased to donate the first of many hundreds of dollars to her construction the moment a committee is formed and a bank account is opened. Are there others who would want to do the same? Let's communicate.

Bruce A. Daniel, DDS
P.O. Box 165
Loomis, CA 95650

Either/Or.

In the Karl Hess "Either/Or" article (LP NEWS, July/August) he makes some valuable points and bless him for effectively playing the peacemaker. We need that.

Let's begin with the anarchist versus minarchist argument. I have never been able to understand why it is one or the other. Isn't it first one and then the other? As we recede from an all powerful state surely we will gradually limit the powers that government has so cleverly built up over the years. As a limited government comes into being will we ever be satisfied? Adaptations and changes will always be in progress. Heavens forbid! Sometime in the next millennium we may be able to operate as a pure anarchy.

Gwendoline Stillwell
East Lansing, MI

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Flapdoodle

In early June I received in the mail a large envelope with the familiar Libertarian emblem in the left hand upper corner. I thought, "Goody, here is the national call to action, a call to march in support of the Chinese students." It was not that at all. It was a polemic from someone in Marrou's office, something about a loan/fraud and a jilted girl friend. I cast it aside.

More recently another envelope. "Hurray!" I thought, "here is my bright orange solidarity banner that I will wave in support of the Polish uprising." Alas, it was more flapdoodle, this time from Bob Murphy in Oklahoma. He was blaming somebody for something vaguely understood and of no consequence.

I just wish that those cry-babies would grow up; play the cards that are dealt to them; stop bellyaching; and until they do, leave me out of the loop.

Douglas Merritt
Atchison, KS

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None of the Above

While doing the dishes the other day, "None of the Above" jumped into my head. I was thinking about the 1990 elections, wondering how the Libertarian Party of Vermont could help bring positive change to the process and increase voter turnout.

"None of the Above" made news recently in Poland when a great number of the communist party officials were ousted by the people lining through their names on the ballot.

As I finished the dishes I wondered if there had ever been a concentrated effort to get "None of the Above" on the ballot as an option for people who wanted to vote against a certain government program or function. If "None of the Above" got more votes than a candidate, that office would go unmanned and unfunded for that term, unless a special election were held.

David Atkinson
Randolph, VT

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Ideological Cult

The LP really is more like a private association than a political party, as the South Carolina yellow pages listed it (LP NEWS, May/June 1989).

Political parties engage in grassroots organizing, registering voters and working precincts to get out the vote. Political parties try to gain public support by dealing with concrete, practical, gut level issues that affect the average person's life.

The LP acts more like an ideological cult. It debates arcane, esoteric issues, like the praxeology of natural rights, that go right over the public's head; or it preaches ideas that are so radical, such as abolition of the FDA and all public roads, that the public views them as crazy extremism. The typical libertarian "idiot-logue" seems to believe that their ideas are so righteous that mere display in the media will sell them. They won't come out from behind their computers and books to "reach out and touch someone" over the phone, or go out and engage the public face to face in the streets.

That is why, after spending over \$2 million in

continued on page 12



Behind-the-Scenes View of Ballot Access Victory in Oregon

By Paul Smith

This is the "behind-the-scenes" story of how Oregon Libertarians helped change one of the most difficult ballot access laws in the country. The victory was one of the few times in a very long time that a state has rolled back ballot access requirements, rather than making them tougher.

It is a story also of how even the most obnoxious Libertarian perfectionist (like me) can work in the system when it's necessary.

The attempt to change our ballot law was begun in 1988, initially by Joe Dehn, who rewrote the Conyers Bill to make it applicable to Oregon. At the same time, activists in Washington County (outside of Portland) started a video program called "Citizen's Alert" and invited, among other people, one of the local state legislators. The guest, Representative Young, was impressed by the professionalism of the program, by the willingness of Libertarians to ask and demand answers to difficult questions and, perhaps most important, the number of reactions to the program that he received from his constituents. Because of this, he was willing to sponsor the ballot access bill although he raised our originally suggested percentage of the vote needed for access. Under the new bill a new political party can be established in the state with petitions signed by 2.5 percent of the registered voters. However, to stay on the ballot, at least one of the party's candidates must receive votes equivalent to one percent of the votes cast for Congressman in that district. A key feature of the bill was that access to all state offices is guaranteed to a political party which has ballot access at the state level. (Last year the LP

collected more than 68,000 signatures at a cost of more than \$45,000—and that was only for statewide candidates in Oregon. The new law reduces the petition requirement from five percent of the last vote to 2.5 percent of the registered voters. Moreover, it ends the requirement that we petition at the state, local, and district level. Best of all, it lowers the vote needed to keep ballot status from five percent to one percent. We should never have to petition in Oregon again. That saves at least \$45,000 every election.)

We have been quite active in Oregon politics, with candidates running for many offices, and by participating in most of the political processes: writing and paying for position papers in the voter pamphlets, appearing on radio and TV talk shows, writing guest editorials in newspapers, being elected to school board positions. Because of this we have achieved enough local recognition to be well known, if not always liked.

Then we began to lobby the politicians most critically involved in the process of getting the ballot access law passed. This meant going to their offices with literature, dropping it off, then returning several days later to talk to them—and then to talk to them and talk to them and talk to them. We also contacted the editors of important papers asking them to write editorials favorable to our position. The major paper, the Portland Oregonian and the Statesman Journal, in our capital, Salem, did write supportive editorials.

We also collaborated with other groups, in-

cluding ACLU and Common Cause (which was particularly helpful). The primary focus of Common Cause is on the election process and while some of their ideas are far from Libertarian, on ballot access they are right on line with us.

We followed up on all the groups we contacted, keeping in close phone contact, sending along thank you notes where appropriate.

Meantime, we called on Libertarians throughout the state to phone both their legislators and members of the committees involved.

It all involved that most difficult task for Libertarians: saying their piece, politely, and then keeping strong opinions about politicians generally to themselves—then waiting patiently as possible and repeating the whole process over again. Most Libertarians, I have observed, think that logical persuasion is going to achieve their goals and convert people. But the political process is not logical and is not reason-based. It is sociological and power-based.

At one point, the bill appeared dead in committee. I was advised by the secretary of the committee that the priority of the bill was so low that it would not get a hearing. She advised me to discuss my concerns with the chairman of the committee. But the committee's secretary, who is also the chairman's wife, refused to either give me an appointment or allow me to speak to him.

At that point we began a telephone blitz. We deluged the committee with calls. At the same time I wrote an editorial in the local paper about

third parties and ballot access.

Checking back, I was then told that I did not understand procedures and that our bill certainly would get a hearing and I could certainly see the chairman.

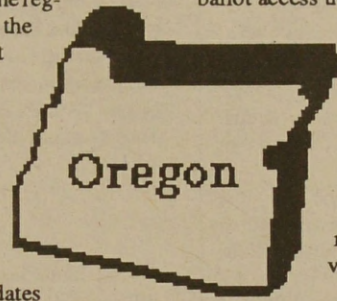
In short order we had our meeting, our hearing, the vote, and the passage of the bill we had been fighting for. (The action marks the first time since 1983 and only the tenth time ever that a state legislature has voted to lower the number of petition signatures needed to put a new party on the ballot.)

I've learned a lot from all of this. Most of the politicians with whom we dealt are reasonable people and when approached politely they will listen. They are also isolated and to approach them requires effort.

I also learned that though politicians do respond to pressure, they don't like to admit it and that past a certain point they can rebel against it. Once you have got an agreement to act, it is best to back off and to help them rather than continue pressure tactics.

But perhaps the most important thing that I learned is that to get meaningful progress requires both the commitment to get the job done and the attitude that we deserve it. As Russell Means and Andre Marrou put it, we need to believe that we are first class citizens. First class citizens don't demand fairness and reasonableness; they expect it. The difference in attitude between demanding and expecting is a critical factor in dealing inside the political machine.

Dr. Paul Smith is chair of the Oregon LP.



If You Don't Want to Be Stepped On—Don't Lie Down

By Mark Yannon

No big deal, but this story so exuberantly personifies part of the libertarian spirit—resistance to foolish authority—that the editors felt it should be shared. The author has served as editor of the Arizona LP newsletter.

It was May. Time once again to play my part as an unwilling participant in the state's motor vehicle registration charade. So I drove to the nearest inspection station and assumed the position—way, way back in the long line of superheated cars. When my turn came, my car passed the fuel inlet restrictor test, the catalytic converter test, and, though my car never has had an air pump, it also passed the air injection pump test. (These folks can't put a gas cap on right but they can find an imaginary air injection pump!) The car also passed the presence of lead in the tailpipe test, wrapping up Part One with a perfect score. Then I drove outside, paid \$7.50 for all this service (it'll be \$10 next year), produced the necessary documents and advanced toward Part Two.

It started very well. I drove the front wheels of my front wheel-drive car up onto the dynamometer's rollers, made sure my lights and air conditioner were off, and produced some really high quality emissions. Top notch. Then a pimply-faced voice cut in.

"OK, you need to step out, sir."

"You want me to get out of my car?" I asked the kid, mildly curious.

"Yes, sir, just leave it running and wait up front," he said, pointing to the doorway at the finish line.

I put my wallet and registration papers into the glove compartment, rolled up the window against the kid's protestations, and walked away. I got to the doorway and looked back. The kid was in my car! What the hell? I ran back.

"Hey, what the hell are you doing in my car?" I demanded. "Get out of there. Who the hell told you you could get in my car?"

The kid jumped out, flustered, stammering, unable to break through my volley of multicolored war whoops. I was immediately surrounded by Hamilton Test Systems personnel (the givers of the tests), all urging me to push my car outside. I did. I was then greeted by the manager, gaily waving a little pink banner, which he turned over to me. It read:

"Front wheel drive vehicles are very hard to control on the rollers used in our testing lane. For safety and insurance reasons, only trained station employees may drive the vehicle through the test."

This produced the expected heated exchange about company policy versus law, private property versus policy, coercion versus property rights, the state versus the Fourth Amendment, and Hamilton Test Systems versus my right to be left alone, damnit! For a full 10 minutes I yelled myself hoarse. I was mad enough to give this guy an aortic valve replacement on the spot. Refund in hand, but sans inspection certificate, I left. Calmly. I'm sure they all thought they had heard the last of me.

Earlier this year, Hamilton Test Systems began testing emissions using dynamometers. The problem is that front wheel drive vehicles cannot be driven on a dynamometer as safely as a rear wheel drive vehicle. If the front wheels point anywhere but straight ahead, the vehicle tries to leave the building.

But, as I explained to my state representatives, Senator Leo Corbitt and Representatives Jane Hull and Susan Gerard, this is not my problem. It's the problem of the test system operators. Just because they can't test vehicles safely, no one, including the State of Arizona and their agents, may assume permission to enter or drive my car.

Two of the legislators (Corbitt and Gerard) caved in quickly to the official position which is that if you don't give the testers permission to enter your car you can't get an inspection certificate.

Only David Eaton, a researcher in Jane Hull's office, kept digging into the matter and finally discovered that the "official" position was dead wrong according to the Air Control Section of the Department of Environmental Quality. Bill Watson, director of the emissions program, promptly called all of the managers of inspection stations to brief them on proper procedure:

If a driver fails to turn his vehicle over to a Hamilton Test Systems employee, the inspection station must substitute a fast-idle emissions test for the potentially dangerous dynamometer test.

As of now, you can peacefully refuse to have your front wheel drive vehicle invaded by an agent of the state, without fear of retribution. Just ask for the fast-idle test instead.

Matching Gift Programs

Double your dollars—your gift dollars, that is. Your employer possibly has a matching gift program that can double or even triple your next tax deductible contribution to your favorite libertarian-oriented organization; the Mises Institute, Cato, FEE, IHS, the Reason Foundation, or Advocates for Self-Government to name just a very few.

There are two types of matching gift programs. The first matches gifts only to colleges and universities. In this case you could make your next contribution to, say, the Auburn

University Foundation for use by the Mises Institute.

The second type matches gifts to any educational or charitable organizations that are tax exempt under sections 501 (c) 3 and 509 (a) of the tax code. In such a case, you would make your contribution directly to, for example, Advocates for Self-Government.

In any case, you should contact the personnel or benefits office of your employer to see if they have a matching gift program procedure.

Plan for Campus Libertarians

continued from page 2

What a declaration to leave with the class: Libertarians make sense!

Well, we have nine official members and about a dozen who just don't want to join anything but consider themselves libertarians. We have also compiled a list of about 100 interested or "hot" contacts and the list keeps growing. I'm still the only one regularly passing out literature although several others help out from time to time. Several more have indicated that they'll pitch in more this fall. None of our membership group graduated last June although several of our non-member libertarians did.

We've developed a plan of attack for the fall semester—Blitzkrieg 1989. We plan to co-sponsor several events: The film "South Africa: The Solution," with the Coalition on Apartheid; petitioning the campus with the Friends of the Chinese Students, using Libertarian International's petition on behalf of the Chinese students; and a debate on "relegalizing drugs" with a representative of NORML, a libertarian, and two opponents.

We are also hoping to arrange events with Amnesty International and perhaps a voter registration drive with the College Republican socialists and the College Democrat socialists.

Last semester I got into several impromptu debates with the leader of the campus Democrats on street corners, in hallways, and on the editorial page of the student paper. We're friends. I used to be a left socialist myself. I've won all of the debates so far. The Democrat always ends up

frustrated and saying things like "Well, you may be right, but I still want worker ownership of the means of production." My answer: "I have no problem with that, as long as it's voluntary and they don't steal others property to get it."

Our faculty advisor last year was not a libertarian but Jeff Leist, a grad student in the religion department, is a libertarian and we hope he'll take over for the next year.

We hope to hold more meetings, streamline our letters-to-the-editor campaign, and hold informal libertarian discussion sessions.

We are also considering holding an Operation Political Homeless for people turned off by the older parties and I hope to get more of our members involved in the individual approach to making contacts in the classroom.

We also hope to use the campus radio station as an outreach tool.

I'm setting up a regional chapter of the Libertarian Student Network to help others get things started on their campuses. We've already got a working group at the University of Cincinnati and have made contacts at Northern Kentucky University, Ohio State, Youngstown State, University of Dayton, and Ohio Wesleyan.

If anyone needs help on their campus, wants to get involved in the regional Libertarian Student Network, or just needs or would like to provide some ideas, feel free to contact me at any time: Jim Fuller, Miami University Libertarians, 1781 Mosley Drive, Hamilton, OH 45013, 513-738-2308.

The Cost of Freedom: 36¢

continued from page 9

the possible implications for consumers, it was decided to go "full steam ahead" in opposition. The key activity, around which opposition would center, would be distribution of inflammatory flyers at state liquor stores, starting that very evening in the capital city.

Doug Jones began writing a report suggesting positive alternatives to the government's negative proposals ("...the price of a successful attack is a positive alternative..." Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*). Bob Waldrop called the political editors of the two daily newspapers and the three network affiliate TV stations.

Within two hours the libertarian position was made known in two TV and two newspaper interviews. Meantime, Waldrop was at a local copy center, using their rental Macintosh and laser printer to produce a press release, the "inflammatory" flyer, and a letter to bar and tavern owners.

By 1 p.m., news releases were being hand-delivered to key state media. In addition, volunteers were on hand by 5 p.m. to distribute 2,000 copies of the flyer. An hour earlier, three more radio stations and two wire service interviews had been completed, all in response to the written press release.

When the 5 o'clock crew met at a downtown liquor store to start their distribution of the flyer, the local ABC affiliate had a cameraman on hand to record the event.

Then the police showed up to tell the libertarians that they would have to break up their distribution "rally" or they would be arrested. When the libertarians refused to retreat, the police actually backed off!

The police threats clearly gained the protestors the sympathies of the media present.

The key to success in exploiting political-event targets of opportunity is swift action, most usefully in your state's capital city where there is a media concentration. By seizing the initiative early, Libertarians can set the tone of the debate. The next day's *Salt Lake Tribune* used phraseology from the SWAT press release. The Utah Libertarian Party is now identified as the major opponent to liquor law changes with its actions being endorsed by the chairwoman of the Northern Utah Tavern Owners' Association.

Swift responses must include things that are interesting to the media. Bob Waldrop suggests that "when in doubt, find 10 people

and set up a picket line somewhere, with some very large, very provocative signs."

Waldrop also suggests keeping up a project file to track everything available about the unfolding issue. "Keep everything together, including your receipts, so that after the dust has settled you know what you did and can critique your efforts."

"Time and issues wait for no one, and must be acted upon immediately for the response to be effective," says Doug Jones, the state chair. "Because our response was timely, we received a massive publicity bonus. LP State Secretary Willy Marshall reports that the state headquarters receives calls every day regarding the liquor issue. Each call is an opportunity to draw someone's interest in the party generally as well as the issue particularly."

The following week, the party received a second publicity bonus in response to the release of its own "Counter-report" listing free market liquor sales alternatives. The party also is releasing a tabloid "lobbying package" to encourage opposition to the proposed liquor law changes.

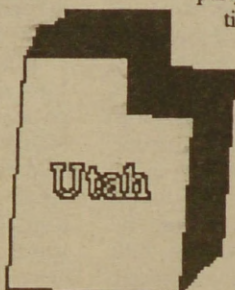
Waldrop, who designed the Utah SWAT quick response system, suggests the following guidelines:

1. The state party must have some method for identifying useful issues and trends on a state and local level.

2. Someone must be responsible for quick responses, and this probably is best vested in either the state or county chair or a designated media specialist. This person should cultivate contacts with all media sources. In Utah, this process includes sending regular press releases (even when most of them get trashed) and every year or so sending a friendly but firm letter to editors, station managements, and boards of directors complaining about the lack of coverage of libertarian issues.

The quick response person must be familiar with the issues of the locality and the major issues that could come up. There should be contingency plans for each of the issues. Since liquor laws are a perennial issue in Utah, the state LP has a well-developed series of positions on them.

3. Know the logistics of getting out a press release fast. Where is it to be typed? Who is to type it? Who is going to distribute it? (Don't send press releases by mail. Hand deliver them to appropriate media sources).



Letters to the Editors

continued from page 10

the 1988 presidential campaign, LP membership is up only 20 percent—less than 2,000 new members at a cost of over \$1,000 each. By contrast when conventional grassroots organizing was used by the local LP in Sonoma County, CA, membership rose by 300 percent to a per capita libertarian membership density greater than that of any "State LP" except Alaska. And this was done at a cost of very few dollars per member.

Randall Grindle
Lower Lake, CA

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Publications

The letter by Karen Ness Cate (LP NEWS, July/August 1989) concerns me and I hope that someone has already responded to her concerns. Certainly the July/August (LP NEWS) edition was, in a way, a response to her letter in that the Libertarian Party Program was published. But, I believe that she should be advised of the other Libertarian publications. I hope that she knows about magazines, such as *Reason* and *The Free Man*, as well as the many publications of the CATO Institute, and the many books available through organizations such as Laissez Faire Books.

The Libertarian Party NEWS, as I see it, is not fully equipped to present the daily news events in a Libertarian perspective, but rather to present the function of the Libertarian Party itself. I most appreciate the other Libertarian literature that I read, as it helps me to put the world in a Libertarian perspective, however. I also enjoy reading the LP NEWS so that I can be aware of how the Libertarian Party plans to approach the problems of the world from a political perspective. I believe that we need many publications to maintain the diversity of thought that will allow the Libertarian approach to be a viable solution to the problems of the world.

John A. Bennett, D.O.
Sequim, WA

Near-Blasphemy

Every decent person is ashamed of H.L. Mencken and of the Libertarian Party NEWS for printing his wrong-side-of-bed near-blasphemy at the Puritans (LP NEWS, July/August 1989).

[An article in *The Gold Bug* stated]: "A vigorous new Middle Class developed in England, made up of Puritans who did not accept the idea of a ruling class born to power without having to either work or study to achieve anything. Puritan businessmen began to compete with Tory landowners for control of England. Elizabeth tolerated these Puritans, because they worked hard, paid taxes and lived their lives according to the Laws of Moses in the Old Testament."

It was largely due to Puritan businessmen serving as Naval Militiamen that the Spanish Armada was defeated in 1588.

Politically, "self-government was the hallmark of Puritan New England. They evolved into sort of an American Switzerland. Ignoring England for 148 years, the five colonies...prospered under laws taken direct from the Old Testament."

"By 1768, young King George III became alarmed at the de-facto independence of the American Puritans. He sent an Army of occupation, forcing Bostonians to shelter the soldiers in their homes. Some of the Irish and German mercenaries married Puritan girls and fled to rural towns, where they joined the 'Minutemen' militia and were absorbed into Puritanism, joining other immigrants such as the father of Paul Revere. Britain failed to stop the spread of the Puritan ethic. It grew and grew, becoming the Soul of a great new Nation," [according to a 1983 Financial Forecasting Center Newsletter].

Thus reviewing our Puritan forefathers puts to shame anyone who would bad-mouth them. One can only hope that Mencken meant his rough statement in a spirit of praise.

D.M. Fowle
Redondo Beach, CA

Freedom

continued from page 3

tutional principles.

These abstract arguments came into play, for example, in the court's otherwise puzzling reconsideration of its 1976 decision in *Runyon v. McCrary*. In *Runyon* the court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which guaranteed blacks the same rights "to make and enforce contracts" as whites, could be used to forbid private discrimination. The 1976 decision dramatically widened the statute's applicability and seemed to go against the simple meaning of this particular law; just because someone has a legal right to make contracts doesn't necessarily mean that he can compel someone who doesn't want to enter into a contract with him to do so. (Other antidiscrimination statutes obviously do compel such contracts.)

In the hands of a conservative court, the *Runyon* decision was ripe for reconsideration. And when the opportunity presented itself, the court asked for briefs on the issue. Having raised the matter, it then unanimously refused to overturn the earlier ruling—although it also declined to extend its application to cases of racial harassment.

Kennedy's opinion is a model of judicial restraint. It also echoes Scalia's concern, voiced in the context of economic liberties, that activist rulings—however justified by the text of the law—can hope to succeed only if they enjoy public support. "Whether *Runyon*'s interpretation of Sec. 1981 as prohibiting racial discrimination in the making and enforcement of private contracts is right or wrong as an original matter, it is certain that it is not inconsistent with the prevailing sense of justice in this country," he wrote. "To the contrary, *Runyon* is entirely consistent with our society's deep commitment to the eradication of discrimination based on a person's race or the color of his or her skin."

As this decision demonstrates, however, judicial restraint will not necessarily dictate the outcomes desired by either libertarian or state-power conservatives. For now, however, it is one of the few principles on which conservative justices agree.



Libertarian Party

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Address _____

Telephone: Day _____ Evening _____

*Occupation _____

*Name of Employer _____

*Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

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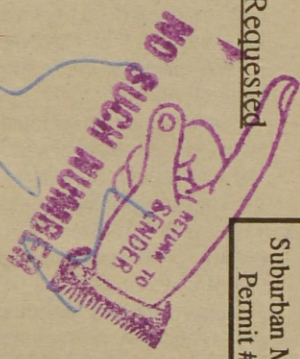
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